

SCHOOL and SOCIETY

Addresses given at the Summer Conference organised by the Institute of Sociology (Le Play House) at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, July-August, 1945 : edited by Miss D. M. E. Dymes, M.A.

The Le Play House Press is the publishing department of the Institute of Sociology. The issue of this publication by the Le Play House Press does not imply that the Institute of Sociology officially approves or takes responsibility for statements of fact or opinion.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

LE PLAY HOUSE PRESS
LEDBURY, HEREFORDSHIRE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

FOREWORD	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON, M.B.E., M.A., Secretary, Institute of Sociology, and DOROTHEA FARQUHARSON, M.A., Hon. Organiser of Field Studies, Institute of Sociology										
I.	THE CHALLENGE : THE PRESENT CRISIS AND THE NEEDED REVOLUTION									4
H. C. DENT, B.A.										
II.	THE VOCATIONAL CONTENT OF THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF TEACHERS									6
CATHERINE FLETCHER, B.A., Principal, Furzedown College										
III.	ART AND HANDICRAFTS IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
IV.	MUSIC AS A MEDIUM FOR THE SYNTHESIS OF SCHOOL AND SOCIETY	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
R. R. KIMBELL, M.A., Mus. Bac., Principal, Sheffield Training College										
V.	LITERATURE AS MEDIUM FOR THE SYNTHESIS OF SCHOOL AND SOCIETY									10
BERYL PASTON BROWN, M.A., Lecturer in English, Goldsmiths' College										
VI.	SCIENCE AS MEDIUM FOR THE SYNTHESIS OF SCHOOL AND SOCIETY	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19
J. A. LAUWERYS, B.Sc., D.Phil., Professor of Education, University of London										
VII.	RELIGION IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22
W. M. JONES, S.Th.										
VIII.	THE RELATION BETWEEN SKILL, COMPETENCE, SUCCESS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY : A DISCUSSION	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
IX.	WHAT IS GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26
A. PINSENT, M.A., B.Sc., Research Officer to the National Foundation for Educational Research										
X.	SOCIAL SKILLS :									
	(a) SPEECH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38
T. H. PEAR, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology, University of Manchester										
	(b) HOME-MAKING	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40
MRS. K. WOOD, Principal, Low Moor College of Domestic Science, Birmingham										
	(c) THE ART OF LIVING TOGETHER	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42
DR. K. E. BARLOW										
	(d) AGRICULTURE	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44
F. J. WOOD, Head Master, East Borough County Primary School, Maidstone, Kent										
XI.	REHABILITATION METHODS AT AN R.A.F. CENTRE	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	53
GROUP-CAPTAIN C. J. S. O'MALLEY, C.B.E.										
XII.	VISUAL EDUCATION :									
	(a) THE ISOTYPE SYSTEM OF VISUAL EDUCATION	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	55
The late DR. OTTO NEURATH										
	(b) THE USE OF FILM STRIP	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	57
LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER CONRAD RAWNSLEY, R.N. (Retired)										
	(c) DOCUMENTARY FILMS	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	68
OLIVER BELL, M.A., Secretary, The Film Institute										
XIII.	LOCAL SURVEY COURSES WITH ARMY UNITS	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	71
MRS. M. HARDIMAN (lately Senior Commander A.T.S.)										
XIV.	THE MULTI-BIAS SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL EXPERIMENT	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75
SIR E. GRAHAM SAVAGE, C.B., Education Officer to the L.C.C.										
XV.	CONCLUSION	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	78
A. PINSENT, M.A., B.Sc., Research Officer to the National Foundation for Educational Research										

FOREWORD

IN our Foreword to *SYNTHESIS IN EDUCATION* (the volume of addresses given at the 1944 Conference of the Institute of Sociology) we explained how from a discussion in 1943 on sociology in Training Colleges we had been led in the following year to a study of education at the university level. It seemed appropriate and inevitable that the next Conference should concern itself with the School. We did not suppose that there could be any large demand for sociology as a school subject, but it seemed clear that the organisation and work of every type of school could be reviewed in the light of sociological principles. In other words, an attempt could be made to see the school in its actual and potential relations to our society, as it is and as it may be. We must leave readers to judge how far the Conference achieved its aim. THE programme falls into two divisions. In the first it was assumed that no effective civilisation is possible without some degree of conscious social unity and therefore the special value of various subjects (literature, art, music, science and religion) as media for synthesis between School and Society was considered. Methods which would help to bring more reality into teaching were shown by demonstration of visual aids—film strip, puppetry, documentary films and local surveys. Into the second division fall the lectures on Social Skills with discussion as to how far the schools could make use of them at the various grades.

WE were most fortunate in our Conference President, Sir David Ross, Provost of Oriel College, who notwithstanding the exacting duties of Vice-Chancellor of the University, gave time and attention to Conference proceedings. His influence, which was felt throughout our discussions, was always on the side of reason and moderation, tempering any exaggeration of view that might have distorted the issues. We have, also, to acknowledge the debt that the Conference owed to the lecturers who came literally from far and near to help us. They combined a high general level of thought with endless variety in experience and expression, and it was frequently remarked that their co-operation provided something useful and, indeed, invaluable for everyone present. Mr. Pinsent greatly increased our obligations for his help at our series of past Conferences by undertaking on this occasion to follow and report on the proceedings. His masterly analysis appears as a summary at the end of this volume. ST. HILDA'S College had welcomed us for our 1943 Conference and in 1945 we were happy to be there again by the kind permission of the Principal and Governors. All domestic worries were banished from our minds by the efficient and ever thoughtful services of the Bursar and the staff.

MISS D. M. E. Dymes has found her editorial task less easy than in former years, for her materials were more varied and difficult to assemble. That she has carried it through successfully in spite of the heavy demands of professional work is the best evidence of her ability and goodwill.

DOROTHEA FARQUHARSON.
ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON.

I The Challenge : The Present Crisis and the Needed Revolution

By H. C. DENT

THE words of my title were chosen for me. They are serious words: challenge, crisis, revolution; but their seriousness is not unjustified. The challenge is the survival or non-survival of Britain and the British people, and no one can be certain what the decision will be, whether the intelligence, integrity, perseverance and industry of our people will be allowed the chance to develop. The crisis is the culmination of a social revolution which has been moving with increasing momentum for centuries, and is now being rushed forward by the events of this war. When did it begin? Some say that the upheaval of the Renaissance and the Reformation began the atomization of society, shattered the cohesion which characterised it in earlier periods. At all events the present crisis is the outcome of a building-up process which has been increasingly conscious for fifty years. This has been expedited by the war and brought to a point at which a clear-cut decision has to be made by all.

TO-DAY'S election result is significant. It means that the people of Britain have come down solidly for the idea of a planned society on a democratic basis. But it is no sudden turn. It is the confirmation of a tendency which has been going on for many years. The Education Act is evidence of this. It was framed by a government of all parties and throughout the debates on it in both Houses of Parliament there was evident an unparalleled unanimity on all its basic principles. Points of difference were on all occasions merely secondary. The crucial items are (a) the switch from selective to universal secondary education, and (b) the obligation laid on public authorities to make adequate provision for all forms of education

from the chiefly recreative type to the most austere academic.

THE Act by itself, however, cannot effect the necessary revolution in education. It can only provide the framework, a framework which with all its compromises I believe to be an adequate one. If the new order in education is to mean nothing more than the mixture as before in larger and stronger doses the Act will fail in its purpose. We must be concerned with content and methods. It is what happens inside the schools that matters. There we must think in revolutionary terms. The schools must be not simply institutions for instruction, but a series of societies fashioned according to the age of those who are in them, and leading up to what Mannheim has called "grand society". They must be based on the stages of growth: up to seven years old, from seven to fourteen, and from fourteen to twenty-one. Each must have a major integrating theme, and I suggest that these should be Home, Exploration, and Work. We have a model, invented in this country, the Nursery School. This is totally different from any other educational institution. It is organised as a society, as a home. Its theme is home, and in it the children learn to play, to work, to create, to think, at their level.

FOR education at the pre-adolescent stage the theme should be exploration of the neighbourhood, as so admirably envisaged by Miss Catherine Fletcher. This stage of education is urgently important. Unless it is right secondary education is impossible. But the Special Place and Common Entrance examinations are totally antagonistic to its true spirit, since they cause children to be

cooped for hours refining tasks and prematurely perfecting techniques. A great need at present is to define in terms of present-day society what primary education should be; what is the common foundation of knowledge and skill. The Three R's are by themselves completely inadequate as a foundation. We must find the alphabet of knowledge and skill sought by the Bryce Commission fifty years ago.

THEN before the age of specialised (secondary) education begins there must be an exploratory period as advocated by the Norwood Committee, but it should not take place in the secondary school. The two years' common curriculum for all cannot be done. The intellectual range is too great.

WHAT is secondary education? The Bryce Commission described it as education conducted in view of the special life to be led with the express purpose of forming a person fit to live it. It must conduct a boy or girl from the stage of being a child to the stage of being an adult. This conception will abolish the idea of a "school-leaving age", of a wall between school and work. It must build a ramp or bridge between the world of school and the world of employment. The period of transition should take four or five years. The age of entry to secondary education should be thirteen or fourteen, not eleven or twelve. By the time a boy is thirteen or fourteen he is capable of knowing what he wants and working for it. Moreover the character of what is done in the schools must be changed. This is not an attack on academic learning. There are people (and they are among the salt of the earth) for whom academic learning is the right thing, and for them I would have a discipline even more austere than they get at present. But the majority are not like that. British people have a capacity for doing the right thing and then thinking out reasons why. For the majority education should show them how and then explain the reasons. There will be some who do not want to know the reasons and for them the reasons should be omitted.

This is not a *lowering* of standards but an acceptance of *different* standards. Broadly speaking the three streams distinguished in the Norwood Report do represent divisions, but I would give the grammar division more grammar and the technical division less technology. As for the modern division—its way of life is now being worked out for us by pioneers, and I will only suggest that it should be closely related to its neighbourhood—an integral part of its neighbourhood. ALL this involves a revolution in the organisation of schools. I cannot escape a feeling that the character-training which is done in secondary schools takes place in spite of the school organisation, that self-government is often little more than a façade, and that it is about time we did away with the mediæval idea of the class sitting in rows in front of the teacher and listening to his words of wisdom. We have been lamentably slow in using modern methods—radio and film—and have allowed the wonderful new art of the cinema to debase the minds of our people with the false values that are assimilated by the 90 per cent. of us who go every week to the cinema as automatically as to our breakfast.

EDUCATION is not a matter for the teacher alone. It is the business of an active partnership in which the main partners are the parents, teachers (or whatever we may call the people who serve in the schools), industry. Secondary Education will never fulfil its function until industry puts it on its pay roll and takes an active daily part in it. A youngster cannot learn the life of employment unless he is in it *in statu pupillari*. The other partners are the adults of the community. The church must come back into education, not in the controlling capacity it held in the Middle Ages, but to a far greater extent than at present, especially at the adolescent stage, if this country is to remain Christian. Voluntary organisations too must come back with renewed strength for voluntarism is in the blood of British people. The Boy Scout and Girl Guide

movements, for instance, ought to incorporate their work in the daily school life of nine to fourteen-year-olds.

WHAT are the immediate steps that can be taken to bring this revolution to pass? There are three main lines: the holding of conferences at which people discuss the problems that lie ahead; research such as

will be made possible by the English Foundation for Educational Research, which is now awaiting the approval of the Minister; and finally the mobilisation of parental opinion to give parents a clearer idea of the purpose of education and to convince them that its be-all and end-all is not the mere passing of the School Certificate Examination.

II The Vocational Content of the Social Education of Teachers

By CATHERINE FLETCHER

I MUST begin with a consideration of the phrase used last night by Mr. Dent—a planned society on a democratic basis. The term "a planned democracy" has been criticised as savouring of fascism and the totalitarian state, but this is a misconception which ignores the values on which democracy is based, values which exist in and through people, and which in a democracy are not the privilege of a few but the right of all. Planning is needed because the world we know to-day is so complex that in considering the feeding of the people in one corner of the globe we must consider the harvests of the opposite ends of the earth. Social education cannot be divided from personal education. We need a new definition of freedom such as is adumbrated in the work of Berdyaev and Eric Fromm. Belief in a new social order depends upon faith in the individual.

THE teacher no longer works in isolation. It is no longer a question of "you in your small corner and I in mine". The contrast in values between school and home must be resolved, and this is not to imply that school values are always better than home values. The opposite is often true. It implies that the teacher must be aware of the actual heritage of the children in school; and also of the

fact that man is at work to master his own destiny and that education must help in this task. The teacher must have faith in the destiny of man and in the planners—"the idealists with shovels in their hands"—and the planning must not come from above but in co-operation with the people building up from below. We must provide the framework so that man can get on with his job. Nor must we be afraid of politics. The school cannot develop in isolation and we must get rid of the conception which was symbolised by the iron railings and locked doors which in the past have shut the school away from the community. We know now that it is the community which educates, as in primitive communities where children learn the skills needed for the way of life in which they participate; with this difference: that we must be articulate and state clearly what our human values are.

It is clear that this involves a new conception of the teacher as one holding hands with the children rather than (or as well as) standing in front of them and teaching. It involves also radical changes in the curriculum of training colleges, changes which have already begun to appear, and which are demanded both by the new approach to the

community and by the Education Act. No longer can training be defined as preparing elementary people to teach in elementary schools.

WHAT then must be the professional basis of training for all types of teachers? The essential element is the study of children, not *in vacuo*, but in relation to their social context. It is no good simply to add a subject called Sociology to the curriculum. We must start from where the children are and the pattern of life in which they live. It must be clearly recognised that the principles and practice of education are based upon certain fields of knowledge which can be directly observed and analysed. The student must be introduced to these fields of knowledge through the data which he can himself directly observe. This knowledge concerns the nature and behaviour of children within the variety of social relationships which affect them and their growth. The study of the nature and behaviour of children we call Child Psychology; the social relationships within which the child is born and brought up are part of the data of Sociology and Social Psychology. The study of Health is fundamental in the study of children and their social contexts. The study of education must therefore involve a close integration of the facts within the fields of Sociology, Social Psychology, Child Psychology and Health. The scope of the general content of the education course should involve a study of the four aspects :—

- (1) Social Education
- (2) Health Education
- (3) Educational Psychology
- (4) The Practice of Education.

Each of these aspects should be approached on an empirical basis. Specific and accurate guidance will be needed. Children should be studied in a particular neighbourhood and students should see where they play, where their homes are, the cinemas they go to and the comics they read. This could be followed up by a comparative study of a contrasting

neighbourhood that they themselves can visit, probably near their own homes.

NEXT, what are the specific needs of training required for teachers in each of the three main school departments? Immediate and thorough work must be done in defining these needs. It can be confidently said that there is likely to be common agreement on the general definition and scope of the training for children under eight. These are the informal years, and the job of the school is to co-operate with the home and where necessary to educate the parents so that the school can integrate with the home. Students will therefore need equipment for this form of adult education. At the junior stage the chief need is an understanding of the children's local heritage, and an awareness of what this means in terms of human relationships. Teachers will need new techniques in the handling of material: the selection of experiences for the children; the use of symbols for records; how to make contact with public officials in arranging visits; the sorting of material after visits; the extension of interest to historical and geographical developments. In the new Secondary Schools we are in territory that has not yet been clearly charted but the teacher must achieve the integrating conception of the young person in his relation to the social structure of which he is to be a part. This relationship will involve a three-fold adjustment, to parenthood, to citizenship and to work. Some specialisation is essential. The crucial question is just what sort of specialisation there should be. We shall find that the needs of the new secondary schools do not fit tidily into the patterns of specialisation, already existing in degree courses at the universities, or in the "subjects" of the training college curriculum. Some new integrations of subject-matter are demanded to meet the needs of the post-war schools. We shall need teachers trained in physical education; in dramatic craftsmanship, plus radio; in music; in social studies; in agricultural, industrial and domestic

sciences; in arts and crafts. While each of these "specialist" studies involves the thorough learning of a variety of skills, the teacher in the secondary school of to-morrow must have done with the narrowly specialised attitude that has over-departmentalised so

much of the work in the secondary grammar school. But there can be no more pressing issue in education than to define the training required to meet the main aspects of the new secondary curriculum, and to provide the courses for this training.

III Art and Handicrafts in School and Society

MRS. Engholm and Mr. Clifford Ellis, Principal of the Bath School of Art, illustrated the importance of art and handicrafts as media for the synthesis of school and society. Mrs. Engholm based her remarks on examples of work done by her pupils in Rhodesia. She referred to the intellectual and emotional starvation suffered by many pupils because of the absence of appropriate stimuli and the opportunity for response to them, and stressed the value of the pupils' own attempts at creative work in design and imaginative composition. The work exhibited abundantly illustrated the possibilities of using the pupils' homes, their neighbourhood, and their environment as the source of the desired stimuli.

MR. Clifford Ellis's talk took the form of a commentary on a series of illustrations designed to bring out as clearly as possible the close connection between crafts and the social conditions in the contemporary environment. His examples of various types of craft at different times showed the effect on initiative and individual expression brought about by the social status of the worker and the attitude of contemporary society to the craft in question: the dullness and conventionality, produced by the imposition of standards and stereotypes from without, contrasted with the spontaneous and yet disciplined creative energy which becomes evident when the craftsman is conscious of

taking part in an enterprise in which, while co-operating with others, he feels himself an individual and responsible participant.

THE discussion which followed led inevitably to the problem of the ousting of the craftsman by methods of mass-production leading to the breaking down of complex processes into the simplest elements, the standardisation of these elements for machine-working, and the consequent emotional starvation and repression of workers, leading to frustration, apathy, and the rejection of responsibility. Mr. Ellis could not accept the tendency to try to compensate for this by providing a richer variety of opportunity for leisure-time occupations. The majority of contributors to the discussion appeared, nevertheless, to think that the provision of a high standard of living for all made mass-production of utility goods inevitable, and that this contributed an unanswerable argument for mechanising what we must, increasing the productivity of each worker, and thereby shortening working hours and enabling workers to enjoy more creative pursuits in their leisure time. Some speakers noted that many workers do not find the repetition of simple mechanical processes irksome, and still others insisted that much mechanical work calls for a high standard of skill and judgment, and can be a source of considerable pride and emotional satisfaction to the worker.

IV Music as a Medium for the Synthesis of School and Society

By R. R. KIMBELL

I HAVE just been reading a book by C. A. Richardson called "The Strategy of Living" in which he says that the aim of living is happiness and that happiness springs from contemplation, from devotion, from creation, and from appreciation. If we accept happiness as the aim of living it must also be the aim of the schools, but happiness must come from the children's own performance, through doing and giving their best, seeing their work in relation to standards higher than their own. Appreciation must be not just listening but listening as an incentive to reach out from our best to something better. There will be no complete realisation but the goal will be in view. Music will help to make children fit to live and fit to live with, though, of course, musicians as a class are not notoriously good to live with. They practise! Nevertheless music is a social medium. It encourages corporate effort, and rightly studied it gives standards of discrimination, so badly needed in these days when young people see no superiority in a Hallé concert over a jazz band's performance, when the B.B.C. is content to "give the people what they want", and believes that what they want is to listen to crooners crooning what is too silly to say.

THERE has been noticeable of late a falling off in the standard of equipment of students who wish to take music as part of their training college course. In my own college in 1944 there were only two out of forty who came forward who were well enough equipped to take the examination. A wrong turning seems to have been taken when the appreciation movement began. This is not to say that appreciation is unnecessary, but that it has been wrongly taught. Hearing once and doing nothing is not enough. Why should

we treat music so lightly? Consolidating work is needed. You hear music in quite a different way if you yourself can sing and sing at sight. Each chosen piece should be heard often enough for the children to think about it and appreciate its workmanship.

WHAT then can and should be done in the schools? First let the children express their appreciation of music by moving to it and in response to simple symbols that they themselves can read. Let them learn music by ear as well as by reading (as one learns to speak one's mother tongue). Through the songs learnt by ear they will gradually perceive that there is such a thing as a scale. Then comes the training of voices through beautiful vocal exercises, and here the enthusiasm and appreciation of the teacher is of first importance. Next they will learn to listen to music without words to examine the accompaniment of the songs they sing, and so pass to programme music where the composer gives you the picture he had in mind as well as the music. Thus they will realise that music is a language. After this comes music which has strongly contrasted moods, for instance two movements of the Moonlight Sonata, and from this will come an examination of the means of expression used by composers—major and minor keys, harmony, types of instrument. A historical survey will show that treatment varies from one period to another as the available material becomes more extensive.

BUT music must not live alone. It must be associated with other creative arts. I had encouraging experience of how this can be done in a series of lessons that I gave to boys in Durham. On my way to school I

had seen Durham Cathedral floating in the mist, a beautiful sight which I described to the boys. One of them said "It makes you think of the psalms". "Which psalms?" I asked. "The one that says 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help'." So we reached the idea that we are helped by the beautiful things that we see. Another boy quoted "Two men looked out from prison bars" and I wrote it on the board with the second line, "The one saw stars, the other mud." At once I was told that I had got it wrong, and we saw that by the arrangement of the words their

beauty could be increased. From this it was easy to pass to arrangement in music, and to Mozart. Another day I showed them a picture of a mountain and a dark wood. "Makes you feel afraid" was one boy's comment. "Afraid?" I said, "Don't you want to go into that wood?" "Oh yes, I want to go in but it makes me feel afraid." And so we came to the element of mystery, to the fear of the Lord, and to the transition from beauty to religious feeling, which enables the pure in heart to look through earthly beauty to the beauty of holiness, and to see God.

V Literature as Medium for the Synthesis of School and Society

By BERYL PASTON BROWN

I WANT to begin by setting the problem as briefly as I can, and I must apologize at once for a certain tone of pessimism that you may find in my account—a tendency to speak of our 'predicament'—which is so prevalent in literary circles that it is catching. I should—I must confess—feel happier if I had been asked to speak on the film, rather than literature as a medium for synthesis of school and society. I believe that it is in the film that we have the new popular art of our century and its possibilities must be of enthralling interest to anyone concerned with contemporary art or education. It is—inevitably—the most powerful artistic influence on most children in industrial areas, and any teacher of literature who does not begin from this standpoint is failing from the start to draw on the most vivid vicarious experiences—human and dramatic—of the children. Perhaps it is partly the strength and vividness of the cinema's appeal that has depressed those English teachers who won't use it as an ally—

it has certainly depressed a good many writers. Here is Orwell's gloomy prediction. "As for the writer, he is sitting on a melting iceberg: he is merely an anachronism, a hangover from the *bourgeois* age, as surely doomed as the hippopotamus. From now onwards the all important fact for the creative writer is going to be that this is not a writer's world".

THIS seems to me false but indicative and revealing, and the same air of defeatism, of accepting oneself as an anachronism, seems to hang over those teachers of literature who go on prescribing Addison or Macaulay's essays for the 12 and 13 year olds.

I WANT to stress simply that the cinema—as the new popular drama—(American drama—one must remember—not British) is an essential part of the material of the English lesson. The children have had these vivid, often violent experiences and it is senseless to ignore them, however much they may be deplored—that is to incur the damning

criticism of the girl who said that teachers were "not interested in the things we know about".

BUT my field is not the cinema but literature—and here the dimensions of the problem have grown increasingly clear as they have been observed and analysed during the past 10 or 15 years. The problem is the place of our national culture—of traditional stories, of the classics of our literature—in the contemporary world of mass education and of a rapidly evolving technological society.

JULIAN HUXLEY has put the position clearly and concisely :

"An educational system which is seriously unrelated to the society in which it is attempting to function will hinder social unification and advance. Attempts to introduce the children of working-class families to a so-called universal or standard culture, when this is essentially a culture of the leisured classes in past epochs, and there is scarcely a trace of living culture in their own social environment, are doomed to failure. Apart from a few unusual individuals, and some temporary enthusiasts, children tend, by a perfectly healthy reaction, to reject contact with that sort of culture, as having no vital meaning either for themselves or for the communities of which they form a part. It becomes looked on as something highbrow and unreal, to be dropped as soon as school days are over. Or at least as something to be kept to oneself, something to be rather ashamed of, when brought face to face with the prevailing standards and outlook of the hard industrial world."

As a commentary on this, I should like to remind you of an interesting article in the *Times Educational Supplement* on the rejection of verbal culture by the young adolescent to-day. It was a study of the problems of day-continuation work, and illustrated this turning away from books and all forms of verbal culture. In a survey of elementary and ex-elementary schoolboys drawn from all over the country, the writer found that

at 13+ the comic strip was the most interesting item in the newspaper. A high proportion of the boys were still reading comics and bloods at the age of 17, and the most popular single periodical at all ages was one which relies for its appeal upon pages of pictures. Nearly one-third read no books—scarcely half belonged to a library of any kind. Over 60 per cent. of the girls said they had a positive dislike for subjects with the slightest academic flavour—and of reading or discussing books. The subjects they liked were those with a practical bias or unassociated with school—dancing—cooking—music, from swing to classics—typing and shorthand.

THIS account is not, of course, surprising. It does suggest though, the problem of teaching literature in our society. And over against this we have the educational pronouncement of Sir Richard Livingstone—arguing that no true education can exist without the habitual vision of greatness, and that it is history and literature above all that can give this vision. But, he says, "it must be a vision of what is spiritually first-rate and we must select what is first-rate and reject what is not". It should be Virgil not Ovid—Milton not Congreve—George Meredith not George Moore. One's mind at once runs to the school in the dingy street behind the marshalling yards—to the world of *Our Towns* and *Branch Street* and *Girls' Growing Up*—where a major issue can hardly be whether it shall be George Meredith rather than George Moore.

It is the extent of the cleavage—this great gulf between the two worlds—which is the great problem. Is there any way in which literature can help in the synthesis between the school and society or is it inevitable that any handling of literature should rather broaden and deepen the rift. On one side, the world of our national culture, of our own great literature, itself often derived from the classics—and on the other, the world of Hollywood and of the erotic bloods which provide the chief dramatic and emotional nourishment of so many people.

It is not possible—I think—to exaggerate the scale of the problem. I agree with Prof. Jeffreys when he says that "Fundamentally the problem of our generation is nothing less than the remaking of our culture". But this remaking, of course, cannot come directly. If it comes at all, it will be a slow organic growth. The pattern of society is changing so rapidly, the situation is so complex and unmanageable that the writer himself tends to be defeated by the "general mess of imprecision of feeling" and he retreats into mysticism, makes the complete withdrawal, and we are left with the dangerously opposed categories—conflicting types—of the Yogi and the Commissar, as Koestler calls them. On one hand in contemporary literature—there are all the manifestations of the highly esoteric cliques—the painful isolation of the writer, the recognition of his own neurosis. On the other, the general body of reportage, literature of the social conscience—dealing conscientiously and often vividly with contemporary actuality and yet curiously lacking in real power and appeal. Pritchett recently gave some important comments on the emotional inadequacy of the documentary literature. He showed that the deliberate and self-conscious attempt to enlarge the material of literature left the material without significance. With proper instinct the factory hand still preferred the inferior opium dreams of the cinema. The documentary story is full of accuracy of detail and of observed human emotion, but it lacks the essential simplification—the sudden revealing flash which is the mark of art. It has not been freed from the "debris of the contingent."

THIS may seem irrelevant to the school but I don't think that it is. The general predicament of the contemporary writer increases enormously the problems of the teacher, who wants to turn to contemporary literature and finds it so often lacking either in intelligibility or in vigour and simple human significance. The schools cannot themselves remake our culture—they cannot conjure up a body of popular legend and story—they can only

create conditions of honesty and an adventurous outlook in meeting contemporary life, from which in the end, a new culture may come. They have to face squarely the immediate problem in the teaching of literature—that the classics of our literature spring from other worlds and values and are often meaningless and remote to the average child who leaves school at 14. The stock of traditional story and legend—handed on within the family, is dead—and children are absorbed from quite an early age in the dramas of violence and fantasy produced by the cinema and the popular press. It is this situation which has filled some English teachers with despair, and made them drive on blindly through the old academic syllabus, not risking even a glance at the clamorous and changing world outside.

IN facing the problem I want to leave for a moment any specific considerations of the material for Primary and Secondary Schools, and to think first of the general method of approach to literature in schools. I want to stress four points particularly.

THE *first* is, I think, basic to effective and honest teaching, and that is the full recognition of the world in which the children are living and of their real interests. Too much English teaching has been unreal, because teachers have ignored the films the children are seeing and the magazines they are reading, and even more important, the first-hand experiences which form their day to day lives. Here too, I think, it's important to recognise the limitations of their particular interest—literature—as well as of the possibilities of enchantment and revelation. There's a trenchant sentence of Prof. Whitehead's which should be constantly in front of any English teacher. "The success of language in conveying information is vastly over-rated, especially in learned circles." Nothing is fully understood and grasped until it has been proved upon our pulses and literature is chiefly precious in so far as it increases our power to experience.

THE second part follows naturally, I think, from the first, because the approach should lead to encouraging the children to make their own plays and poems and mimes, out of their first-hand experiences of their own world. There is great vitality in these children's records.

Thirdly, there is the approach to literature through the activities of choral speech and of acting and of puppetry and so on. A full and rich development here is probably the greatest contribution that an English teacher can make at the present time. Indeed I should say that the analytic and critical study of books—the usual procedure in the literature period—could very well be abolished altogether. I entirely agree with Mr. Jenkinson in his valuable study, *What Boys and Girls Read*, when he contends that this kind of education in literature cannot be profitably done before the VI form and that here a boy covers more ground and matures more and reads more in a few months than he has in years of previous study. But that is a privilege reserved for very few. If much of the wasted lessons of critical analysis disappeared, far more time would be left for creative dramatic work—for speech festivals and so on. I think it is hard to overrate the influence of these experiences on children—of taking part in the productions, of being chosen to read a passage from the Bible perhaps, at an Assembly. I have often been struck by the importance which this kind of experience has for children. It is the power and beauty of the spoken word in a setting of some dignity and meaning and social importance and it leaves a deep mark. No disagreement is likely over the value of these activities but there may be opposition over the choice of material. For instance, an educationalist wrote recently of the value of choral speaking, etc., provided that “these activities are not the imposition of a spurious culture over the vital roots of language but are themselves rooted in the child's experience”. I think this is to deny the compelling and magical power of words as they are spoken and of great rhythms as

they are felt. The criterion here surely is not that of direct social relevance, but of delight. Consider verse for little children, for instance.

Zinty-Tinty tuppenny bun

The cock went out to have some fun.

He had some fun : he beat the drum.

Zinty-Tinty tuppenny bun.

I've not explored the source of that rhyme but I'm pretty sure that it would not satisfy any criterion of social relevance. What it does communicate, though, is delight in simple rhythmical sounds—in a way that uninspired factitious verse on modern themes cannot. This delight is far more important than the superficial social relevance of verses about traffic-lights or pilots. Again, at a different stage, I have seen the deep delight that girls of 13 or 14 experience when they are trained to speak finely some of the great psalms. There is no question here of the material being rooted in their experience, but it transcends it, and through active participation they are able to enjoy for a time the experience of great art. I am convinced that one way in which the school can contribute most to society is by giving children delight in acting, in organised choral speech and song and movement, which is denied to them by the pattern of the community in which they live. There is no direct synthesis here, but by encouraging a love of these activities, we may begin revivals of them in the community at large. The strength and vitality of the amateur dramatic movements in both America and Russia are encouraging signs.

Fourthly, there is another very different approach in the English lesson, which has received a good deal of stress and publicity, although it seems to me of far less importance than the creative activities which I've just touched on. This is the direct handling of cheap reading matter or discussion of commercial films, in an attempt to train taste directly and to fight openly the debasing standards of the age. A good many teachers have already worked on these lines and much has been written on it, and I want to speak

of it again when I come to Secondary School work. It is a valuable and interesting experiment, but it does involve a dangerous attitude of mind—the danger of the negative critical destructive approach—an attitude which is easy enough to communicate at adolescence. At one time, for instance, we heard a great deal of the uncritical acceptance of newspaper stunts by the average reader. It is almost equally alarming though to meet the general cynical assumption that any line is probably only a newspaper racket. We want children to go to better films and to enjoy them, but the danger of false assumed taste and of snobbery here is only too painfully evident to anyone who has done much teaching in adult classes. It is the evil against which Lawrence inveighed so bitterly. "For the vast majority, much mental consciousness is simply a catastrophe, a blight. It just stops them living."

In general then, literature teaching should ensure :—

1. Constant recognition of the nature of the contemporary world and of the children's first-hand experiences in it.

This is the basis.

2. The direct reflection of these experiences in their own creative writing.

3. Full opportunity for activity at every stage—choral speaking and drama. Literature thought of as something to be spoken and acted.

4. Direct tackling of popular commercial films and magazines.

I now want to make some brief comments on the kind of material appropriate at the Primary and Secondary stages.

In the Primary school there is boundless appetite for stories and verses, and breathless attention is won by anyone who can tell a good story. The demand is never satisfied and in a great many schools there is real emotional and imaginative starvation because of the decline in simple direct

story-telling. The challenge comes over the material—what poems, what stories?

HERE I incline to think that the problem has been exaggerated. It is true that much folk-lore and popular legend is irretrievably lost. Sir Fred Clarke has pointed to the loss of the old culture of the countryside—the seasonal customs—nature lore—proverbial wisdom of ancient England—all the far-reaching losses which come from migratory labour. There is an interesting letter of Thomas Hardy—written in 1902—where he laments that "village tradition—a vast mass of unwritten folk lore, local chronicles—local topography—is sinking into oblivion. There being no continuity of environment in their lives, there is no continuity of information—the names, stories and relics of one place are speedily forgotten. The labourers do not know any traditional stories or ballads—or the ghost tales attached to particular sites". All this loss must be faced, and it is strange to think of the different kind of stories that now belong to so many of the blitzed cities. Some of you may remember the remarkable account of the talk of Seumas Boy Phelan—5—taken down by his father—dominated by the new mythology of the naughty mans and their bombs. But what is most striking here, perhaps, is the way in which it merges with the older figures of the child's story world. Here is a fragment of Seumas' talk.

"Once a time I wrote a story. This was about the good no more, when the naughty mans fell out of the plane and the wolf of the woods ate them up and the bomb broke the wolf."

OR the natural way in which he links his own "sings" with the traditional ones he has been taught.

"You sing. This is your sing—along the North Road and a long North Road, going to see My Mother. Hurry along and hurry along, going to see My Mother. This is your sing. While the coach is going along. When horrid very horrible nasty things, too, there is a sing. This makes you cry sometimes, but it is a jolly good sing I say. Poor

Cock Robin, this is very sad: some naughty mans shot, bang, and died and killed and broke, like a bomb in house."

AND Seumas likes his sing "because it is so jolly nice, and better than a say or an explain".

I've quoted Seumas here to illustrate the breadth and catholicity of the little child's imagination. The old popular legends and traditions have gone from the homes and country districts but anything that can be salvaged in the schools will be seized on by the children and happily absorbed and combined with their immediate surroundings and experiences. Poor Cock Robin who died and killed and broke like a bomb in house. I see no need to forgo the whole body of traditional stories and to replace them by stories of railwaymen and airmen. The need for fantasy and for the impossible is great, the appeal passionately strong. Havelock Ellis states it forcibly. "For the child who can just read, Jack the Giant Killer and the story of the human-souled swans, which make the swan a mystic bird for all our lives—are better worth knowing than any fact in the visible world. There ought not to be any doubt that children should be fed on fairy tales as their souls' most natural food." It is an interesting commentary on this that librarians in children's libraries report an overwhelming demand for fairy stories. They can't keep the shelves sufficiently stocked with them. And I feel sure that this need for fantasy and magic is one that society should not try to stifle. It is interesting here to read of the ways in which Russia has approached this problem. There was an early tendency there to stress in the Children's Theatres the excitement of the brave new industrialised world and of all the technological achievements. Fantasy was barred. But now it seems to be admitted freely—as in their children's films, where they produce not only the simple political adventure stories, like *Lone White Sail*—but also delightful interpretations of the age-old fairy stories—as in the *Magic Fish* or the *Little Hump-backed Horse*.

At this primary stage then, I think, children's need for fantasy should be recognised and satisfied. I know that they are active and social and love to explore their own world, their own neighbourhood. A gas main is being laid in the street and children stand round for hours watching with absorbed attention. But they give the same absorbed attention to the story of Rumpelstiltskin and they must have both. Again one meets the challenge, why satisfy their love of adventure and suspense with Rumpelstiltskin rather than with the exploits of the fireman or the fighter pilot. My own answer would be that these earlier legendary stories hold something of the magic of symbols, they follow certain simple patterns. They have a strong poetic appeal which cannot belong to a continued adventure story of their own time. "Away they went, over stock and stone, and their hair whistled in the wind." It is really the answer of Seumas—that a sing is better than a say or an explain.

I THINK then that we should tell the old stories, although they have slipped out of the general stock of knowledge, because they are great dramatic stories and have that telling simplicity which young children can seize and delight in. It is the central emotion in the story which the children catch, the foreign background and detail is just an added mystery and delight. They identify themselves with the core of the emotional pattern and with the excitement—which is simple and intelligible. The tension of Atalanta's race—the courage of Perseus—the stupidity of the Flying Fool. A new body of folk lore of the cinema may easily be built up. Donald Duck has already joined the hierarchy, but this coming of the new is no reason for dispensing with the old, on what I feel are merely theoretic grounds of social relevance. The children delight in the older stories and they should be given all that they can get.

At the Secondary School stage the problems are very different and it is here that the

greatest damage is done at present. Obviously no rigid dividing line can be drawn, but I have in mind the general problems of teaching literature at the most difficult ages of all, 13—14, to the average child, because it is here that the real difficulties arise. I'm not concerned with children from cultivated homes or with exceptionally gifted intellectual children in grammar schools. With good libraries and a little guidance they can find their own way. But for the vast majority it is different. The early omnivorous appetite for any imaginative reading disappears. There are all the self-conscious anxieties of adolescence—the claims of the outer world,—the problem of jobs—the criterion of usefulness—all these predominate.

WHEN students come to the training college I ask them to write some account of their own memories and reactions to their experiences in English lessons, and the accounts are illuminating. Over and over again come clear delightful memories of poetry lessons or stories at 8 or 9, but there is a sudden drop of interest often at 12 or 15. They begin to study books which don't interest them and there is a healthy reaction—among the girls especially—to the exploitation of emotion which can go with English teaching. I give you one revealing quotation.

"My interest died about the age of 14 because our new English mistress was one who seemed to delight in laying bare the poet's thoughts in a most sentimental way. At that age I was very sensitive and such a display of feelings, both on the part of the mistress and through her the poet, embarrassed me greatly. The English lesson in which poetry was taken became a torture to me."

It's at this stage, I think, that most can be done by a ruthless clearing of present stock cupboards, and a free experimental handling of contemporary books. The boys and girls are finding their own escape literature in a medley of school stories—crime stories—annuals and magazines. The

classics should be in the library for any who want them. But most children will get more from some of the contemporary writing, which may be ephemeral, but which is vivid and gives them a sense of writers as real people living in their own world.

HERE are a few suggestions. There is the account of the forced landing in the snow in Norway—recorded by David Garnett in his *War in the Air*—and one can make a collection of such records of adventure and heroism, and put them perhaps beside some contemporary pictures, such as Nash's "Hampdens at Sunset". Full use should be made of any local writers, past or contemporary. In a mining district, one might put some of the documentary films on mines beside the writing of a miner like B. L. Coombes, who wrote that "the real history of the mines ought to be written by a man still at work underground. The dust should still be in his throat as he was writing—it seemed to me—and then it would be authentic". There are personal stories of adventure, as in James Hanley's *Broken Water*, with his first-hand account of the man overboard and the drama of the sea. It is Hanley, too, who writes with such excitement of the city. "A novel of the city: Just a city. Its sounds and movements and smells, its clamouring voices, its curious hush, its bewildering paralysing silence in early morning, its fascinating holes and cellars and walls." I think the 14 year old in an industrial city would gain more from such a passage, leading perhaps to a piece of writing, and then a search for some other city-pieces, from Dickens perhaps—than from the persisting study of Addison's essays or of Eothen.

I THINK this approach is valuable and provides interest, but I'm not deceiving myself that it is facing the real problem of teaching literature, and of the education of the emotions which is so important, especially at this age. Our society provides no social initiation into adulthood and it is here that literature could help so much if it were not

too difficult and too remote for the children. A very gifted and exceptional teacher can do a great deal as an interpreter, but in most cases the barrier is too great. The greatest hope here, I think, lies in the generous provision of children's theatres and cinemas with the direct dramatic and emotional appeal which they can make.

I've time now only for a word on the other approach, the direct attack on the journalism and magazines which the children are reading. Here is a straightforward account of a piece of work with 12 year olds by a young man teacher I know.

"THEY had been handled very badly by a teacher who tried to ram good taste down their throats. The result was just what one would expect. They found almost everything very dull. So for a month—I had them twice a week—we did nothing but read the *Hotspur* and *Rover* with the *Gem* thrown in. At least then they looked forward to literature. We soon graduated to blood and thunder on a higher plane. Before the half-term arrived, we'd all had enough of the *Rover* and we made an effort to work out why. We thought we could do better ourselves so we spent the next half-term on writing our own smuggling story. The following term we tackled good short stories and we got round to a bit of *Oliver Twist*."

OTHER teachers are experimenting with film criticism and discussion groups—and there is the popular analysis of advertisements and work on the daily newspapers.

THESE methods are often successful and anyway they show a healthy reaction against the over-academic remote English teaching of the past. This strong bias towards the contemporary may be admirable in the new secondary schools. It is important though to remember its limitations and its dangers. There is a danger that in our urgent demand for social relevance we forget the equally deep needs of the imaginative world—man's need "to be swung clean out of his confined and immediate circumstances into the wider

world of the imagination". There is a danger that in our concentration on the exact interests of children at certain ages, we forget the extraordinary indefinable appeal that is sometimes made by literature quite beyond the range of their full understanding. And lastly there is a danger that we may overlook the remarkable and sovereign power of the teacher. In my own survey of the students' accounts this was the one outstanding factor. No real deductions could be made about this or that method, this or that book. The all-important fact was "Then we changed our English teacher". This dominated, and I noticed that Herbert Read found the same in his research on art teaching. "I have been enormously impressed by the fact, at first puzzling, that the best results could not be correlated with any system of teaching or any academic qualifications in the teacher." It all came back to the atmosphere in the school—and finally to the personality of the teacher.

THIS is supremely true in the teaching of literature and I think of a London school I knew well, where owing to the brilliance of one young English teacher, rough Cockney lads of 12 and 13 were having a rich and vital introduction to literature. They spoke verses of every kind with vigour. They acted plays, wrote their own magazines, debated about films, and when they left at 14 many came back to join theatre parties and to form their own drama club. I'm not disturbed that all of this was generated and nursed by the unbounded enthusiasm of one man. It was valuable in itself while it lasted, and for a few boys it will be an enduring interest.

BUT in conclusion I should like to move right away from the classroom and direct teaching and speak of the place of the library in a school. I'm not concerned here with set library periods or with talks about books in libraries—but of a room where there are books—and more important, a room which is or should be, withdrawn from the rest of the life of the school. A passage in Prof.

Mannheim's *Diagnosis of Our Time* impresses me with its importance and relevance here. He is writing of the problem of privacy in the modern world.

"I SHOULD like to discuss as one of the changing attitudes the gradual fading out of the meaning of privacy and the emergence of the habit of mass enjoyment.

By privacy and inwardness we understand the desire of the individual to withdraw certain inner experiences from the control of the outer world and to claim them for himself. Privacy and inwardness are perhaps the strongest means of individualisation and one of the greatest assets in the growth of an independent personality. It is in this realm of seclusion and partial isolation that our experiences gain in depth and that we become spiritually different from our fellowmen. In those spheres where we are continually exposed to social contacts and where an exchange of ideas incessantly takes place, we tend to become like each other through mutual adjustment. This process of socialising our experiences is a healthy one as long as it is balanced by a sphere of privacy. Without it there is no power left in the self to resist continual change and the individual develops into a bundle of uncoordinated patterns of adjustment. It is not only the individual who needs this sphere of seclusion and mental privacy into which he can always withdraw and cultivate traits of his personal differentiation as the most valuable parts of self. Dynamic society itself cannot cope with the great variety of problems as they emerge—without drawing upon a great reservoir of individuals who have developed beyond conformity, and who are always apt to produce unexpected responses when traditional forms of adjustment become obsolete." Prof. Mannheim goes on to show how the existence of intimacy, privacy, contemplation and inwardness is threatened wherever modern mass society develops, whether here or in America, Germany or Russia.

I THINK that this is not nearly widely enough recognised and that it is a cause for which the school should be prepared to fight. Quiet reading—lapsing into daydreaming—is less and less possible to-day in any kind of home. Schools must do what they can and the teacher of literature ought to be prominent and insistent in this demand. We need desperately in every section of society, individuals who have developed beyond conformity, and it is these who may be most stunted in their growth if they're deprived of some opportunities of contemplation as children. It was most depressing, for instance, to read of the disapproval of the non-conforming meditative child—in Miss Levin's book on Soviet education. It is no wonder that in our almost total absorption in temporary physical life in our society, the naturally contemplative and poetic mind tends to become neurotic. Lack of any opportunity of privacy is a really serious threat to any potential artists. Harsh conditions against which they can rebel have never defeated them—but the insidious effect of the over-organisation of social activities may have a more damning effect. I rather agree with the protest that for a child to pass through the average home and the average school and still keep his imaginative power is a feat comparable to the crossing of the Atlantic in a thirty-foot boat.

So we come back to the initial challenge. How far in this time of cultural crisis can literature serve as a medium for the synthesis of school and society? The answer, as I see it, is very little, directly. The answer to the flood of cheap debasing magazines and films can't be found in the great literature of the world—it will be found only in direct and immediate experience of living itself—in seeing—feeling—touching—in manipulating and singing and dancing—and in experiencing these things as good in themselves. It is from this direct experience that we may in the end build a literature which has its roots in the activities and emotions

of a district and its people and which has meaning and reality for them. The importance of regional development and consciousness here is obvious. Meanwhile the teacher of literature has to face the situation realistically and recognise that the more they can head children off from the drug of print today, the better off they will be. It is nonsense to talk of the virtue of inculcating the reading habit—everyone has the reading habit—it is a disease. We want to turn children to every form of activity, and here acting and stage management and puppetry can help. One of the finest counterblasts to cheap journalism would be a widespread revival of civic repertory theatres and the establishment of children's theatres and guilds. Here

would be the corporate communal centres from which new forms of popular drama—like the living newspaper—might slowly emerge. And besides this healthy activity of a community there should also be passionately guarded the individual's right of withdrawal. Patrick Geddes said that "every form of life is marked not merely by adjustment to the environment but by insurgence against that environment". In a mechanical and technological society the great need is for an assertion of the human values, an insurgence of the spirit, and it is here, perhaps, on a long view, that literature will make its greatest contribution again to society.

VI Science as Medium for the Synthesis of School and Society

By J. A. LAUWERYS

THE task proposed to me is to discuss some of the ways in which the study of science in schools can help in the "synthesis of school and society". Clearly, this question can be considered from at least two points of view, the institutional and the individual. That is, it might be asked in what ways science could help to modify public feeling regarding school and society, so that they might be more closely adjusted one to the other. Or, again, one might ask in what ways the study of science could help to facilitate or even to bring about the institutional changes required to harmonize more perfectly the claims of human beings and those of a technological society. Or, looking at the question from the point of view of individuals, one might ask what contributions the study of science could make to the formation of citizens adequately equipped to take full advantages of the

opportunities existing in a modern society and sufficiently integrated within themselves to find the happiness open to them.

IT will, I think, prove most profitable to approach the general problem from this last standpoint. Central to the whole discussion, is the fact that we live in a society which is changing extremely rapidly in every way. At such a time, the stabilization of individual personalities is a matter of paramount importance. We cause unnecessary psychic strains if we train, in schools and families, human beings who still continue to welcome the non-changeability or the extremely slow changes characteristic of "static" societies but not of our own. It would be better if our schools now set themselves quite deliberately to habituate their pupils to the expectation of change, to life in a

rushing torrent and not, as is common, to life in a placid lake. Clearly, one part of this process of habituation to life in a dynamic society will be concerned with the study of science, itself a major agent causing the changes. It would be well if schools would play their part in making sure that all citizens knew a good deal of science and were accustomed to think in scientific ways about social phenomena. An understanding of the forces at work is desirable, if only because it helps to remove mystery and fear, replacing these by a sense of mastery important in the stabilization of personality.

THE problems of science teaching in schools must be tackled with due regard to the characteristics and needs of children at the various stages of their development. At the primary stage, say up to the age of ten or eleven, science teachers may hope to help children in three principal ways. First, they can help these young people to separate the real world from the world of fancy, to learn that the world has such and such properties, that it is an orderly place, that there is no need to be frightened of imaginary terrors. Secondly, those who are in charge of children, if they have any knowledge of science, have wide opportunities for stimulating curiosity and for encouraging the habit of looking further and seeing more carefully in order to satisfy this curiosity. Thirdly, much can be done to foster and enrich the imagination—by which term I do not mean that love of the fantastic which is fed by fairy tales and myths that almost make some children believe that one can bring about results simply by thinking them. I have in mind, rather, the scientific imagination: playful manipulation of real things and real possibilities.

THIS primary stage is the time for a first look at the furniture of the universe, not only at the living things but also at weather, stars, light, colours, rocks, water, earth. Much can be done only outdoors, of course, but films and pictures provide other occasions

for extending, and even for ordering, experience.

THE next stage, the first cycle of secondary education, covers the period from about eleven to about fifteen years. Such young adolescents become interested in the way things work, in machines, in devices that are useful, in what might be called science in action. Such youngsters appreciate most fully scientific explanations of the type customary among pre-Socratic Greeks—explanations in which analogies are drawn between major natural phenomena and the processes of kitchen and workshop: clouds are like steam from a kettle and the sun is like a big stone heated in the forge. We need not despise such analogies: Franklin's investigation of the causes of lightning is of that type and it helped to remove fear from the minds of many who had not gone far beyond those who saw in thunder the expression of the anger of Thor or Zeus.

AT this stage, too, young people can learn the great lesson, so well taught in science, that command over nature has been gained through the free co-operation of human beings and quite irrespective of differences in nationality, language, or race. They can begin to achieve some understanding of the interweaving of activities typical of the present-day world and develop respect and appreciation of technical competence. The biological sciences, of course, cannot be ignored at this stage. They supply answers to two questions of vital interest: how man secures and improves his food supply and how he defends and improves his health. The non-biological sciences will display the ways in which man has learnt to get what he wants from the materials at hand and how he has learnt to control natural forces for his own purposes. Note here the opportunities that evidently and abundantly exist for a mode of study and teaching that well deserves to be called humanistic and for the fostering of attitudes and habits of thinking which, if widespread, would serve

to lessen the strain and tension between modern individuals and the social order. Note, too, that the knowledge acquired would, very often, prove useful to individuals and relevant to the tackling of social problems.

Is the second cycle of secondary education, the period of later adolescence lasting from, say, fifteen years to eighteen or nineteen, a period which may be spent either at work in the economic world or at some type of secondary or continuation school, one often observes the emergence of two apparently contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, there is the vocational interest, the desire to develop specific skills and to acquire knowledge useful as regards getting jobs. On the other hand there is a growing idealism, a broadening of imaginative sympathy, an increasingly strong desire for devotion to causes that go beyond the self, a wish to help to better the lot of mankind. It is at this stage, and under such impulsions, that many young people turn to politics and religion.

THIS twofold tendency demands a simultaneous broadening and narrowing of the curriculum. The broadening can be achieved by the study of the history of science, presented as the history of mankind's efforts to achieve a measure of security against the old enemies: cold, hunger, disease, poverty. The history of science well displays, too, how scientific achievement and discovery lead to social change—which follows the former after a time lag which may be long. The life stories of great scientists, too, present hero-types—not stainless saints—but human beings with faults such as the adolescent knows exist in himself—humans of heroic stature and, often, good patterns. Studies of the character of such men and women is full of interest for these older adolescents, who are so often absorbed and interested in their own developing personality.

THE vocational and narrower side of the work will, naturally, involve specialized

courses relevant to future careers. Through such courses, scientific attitudes may develop and a knowledge of the scientific method grow. This method, after all, is but common sense working at a very high level: it is a skill in thinking, a way of asking and answering questions. To master it and to appreciate both its powers and limits will help adults to canalize their aggressive impulses into a fruitful struggle against nature and for the building up of better societies.

CITIZENS who have had a scientific education of the kind I have been attempting, very badly and baldly, to describe should be able to take an informed interest in scientific progress and research, and they should be equipped to take their proper share of the political and organizational responsibilities that fall to democratic citizens. They would not be compelled through their ignorance to accept the dogmatic assertions of "experts". Their understanding of science should show them that there exists a technique for attacking problems and a tool for the building up of a society in which it would be good to live.

I CANNOT and must not close without a brief note of warning and explanation. It is all too clear that the teaching of science in schools has not hitherto produced anything like the results hoped for—let alone results such as those I have had in mind in this talk. I am convinced that this has been due more largely than most of us would allow to two important factors. First, the whole atmosphere and organisation of many of our schools tends to minimise the importance of science and the attitude of many teachers, and especially of headmasters, tends very often to be antagonistic to the scientific approach—an approach which is often mistaken either as mere empiricism or vulgar and inhuman materialism. In the second place the way that many other subjects are taught neutralizes the effects that one might hope to obtain from

science. I am not thinking of the arts: these are creative and cathartic, they contribute to the emotional stabilization of the young. But the way in which languages, and especially English literature, is often taught seems to me harmful in almost every way. While the teaching of history far too often emphasizes (despite the efforts of well meaning teachers) competitive ideals, nationalism, war, battles—that is, things that are proving increasingly dangerous to life and to civilization.

In conclusion, then, I would say that since science is itself modern life in one of its most characteristic manifestations, it offers a magnificent medium for that synthesis between school and society which it is our purpose here to discuss. Its study in schools will not only help the young to adjust themselves to the society that exists,

but will give them tools for the transformation of that society. If, however, the teaching of that subject is to make its proper contribution, there is need for great changes in the content of the usual courses and in the methods of teaching. Further, there is need for giving to it, in education, a place commensurate with the one it occupies in the world to-day. And, finally, if it is to have its effect, one must no longer neutralize it through the other subjects of the curriculum. Science, indeed, can contribute to the synthesis of school and society only if it becomes an essential ingredient of a properly planned and integrated curriculum; part, but an important part, of the full range of activities fostered by a school itself responsive to the needs of a free and democratic society in process of transformation.

VII Religion in School and Society

By W. M. JONES

THE title that was given to me for my contribution to this conference omitted the words "as medium" which were affixed to all the other titles, and this is right, for there can be no doubt that religion does in fact present us with a synthesis. In the Christian religion God is offering to man a synthesis for his whole life, a synthesis for man and his Creator, for man and his fellow men, a synthesis, using all the riches of material and spiritual creation, in which man is left to explore and plumb the unfathomable depths of his being in the mind of his Creator, and to which he is invited to respond in the freedom and love given to him; and so it should rightly enter into this conference where we are looking for a synthesis between school and society.

I SHOULD have liked to start with the pre-

school age, with infancy and the nursery, but time would not permit of this and I must turn to the primary grades, up to about twelve years old. Children at this stage are full of surprises, penetratingly alive, leaping like young salmon at spiritual ideas. It is a mistake to attribute to them an unquestioning faith, rather they offer to the religious teacher a lively awareness and receptivity. On the whole I have found them well taught as to facts and stories. They will, of course, listen to stories with absorbed attention, even if they have heard them before; and this Biblical foundation is important, but it is not enough, and if nothing more is given children settle down to dull acceptance or even to concealed agnosticism. One cannot say that Jesus asked for dull acceptance of His teaching. It was hidden under parables, and in startling

aphorisms. It was provocative, upsetting all standard values, uncompromisingly difficult. He met men, walked and talked with them, and left them to find out who He was. I am sure that we under-rate the spiritual perceptions of children at the primary stage.

BUT the case of children at the secondary stage is very much worse. Enquiries among students have shown that religious instruction is crowded out of the syllabus by the requirements of examination subjects. One girl told me, "I'm afraid I didn't pay much attention in my last year. I rested. You see, it was not taken for examination, and I did not have to work at it". I know that there is a controversy as to whether the subject should be taken in examinations, but I suggest that there is a lot of muddled thought on the question, and that the subject is not necessarily ruined by examination. In particular there is one consideration which should not be overlooked. Public examinations demand skilled teachers and high standards, and they give the subjects taken high importance in the eyes of pupils.

THE lack of trained teachers of religious knowledge is directly attributable to the minimising of its importance in the secondary schools. The pupil who would like to do intellectual work in this direction is in most schools forced to abandon it, and the result is that there are no potential teachers leaving school to take up further studies in it at the Universities. What background can the young theological student have compared with that of the young mathematician?

RELIGION cannot take its proper place in school until we have a supply of teachers

trained in theology who can make use of modern methods based on a sound background of learning. Without these teachers the study of comparative religion in schools is of doubtful value. How can a real study of it be made when the pupil has no sound theological and philosophical knowledge of his own faith as a foundation?

FINALLY, I would stress the importance of the devotional side of religion in school. The child needs to be given a conception of the value of prayer in its two aspects: the individual prayer in which man is in communion with God in solitude, a solitude that may be frightening to the adolescent unless he knows that there are others who have this same experience; and the common worship in which men commune together with God, seeking not merely enjoyment of singing, of sermon, and of ritual, but the getting through to God in company with others, the felt need for which is manifest in the present tendency towards the revival of congregational worship.

OUR present predicament was described by the prophet Amos in a famous passage: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will cause a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, not a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord. And they shall wander from the sea to the sea, and from the north to the east; they shall run to and fro and seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it".

No wonder the adolescent goes out into society quickly forgetting any aspirations that he may have. "In that day shall the fair virgins and the young men faint for thirst." Amos 8, 11-13

VIII The Relation between Skill, Competence, Success, and the Development of Personality: A Discussion

THE relation between skill and competence, success, and the development of personality was discussed under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Farquharson by Mr. A. Pinsent, Professor T. H. Pear, Mrs. Murdo Mackenzie, Miss H. G. Turner, and Miss F. Gwilliam.

THE problem awaiting the new secondary schools was seen to arise from the fact that the Education Act of 1944 lays down that *all* children above the age of twelve years are to go into secondary education (which is *not* to be a glorified elementary education). Every child is to be included who is not certifiably feeble-minded. A consideration of secondary education, as we know it to-day, shows that there are difficulties enough already. The new difficulty is that the kind of work at present demanded in the secondary schools is beyond the intellectual grasp of 70 per cent. of the children who will have to be catered for when the Act is implemented. For them it is essential that curriculum and methods shall be so organised as to ensure that they will achieve some success. Without this it is impossible for them to develop a properly integrated and stable personality. The problem is to decide what skills can be brought in to amplify the three R's and the subjects normally taken for the School Certificate examination so as to give children not academically minded a reasonable chance of success.

At this point it became necessary to state some definitions which, while they would not be universally approved, could be accepted in this discussion in order to avoid ambiguity. To avoid confusion between capacity and ability, capacity was accepted in the sense that a pot may have a capacity of one pint

though at a given time it may be empty. Every child who is born normal has the capacity to speak Persian, but it has not necessarily the ability. You prove the ability by doing it. Skill, it was agreed, should be applied to the higher levels of ability. It is possible to speak of creative skill and analytic skill, but for the purposes of the discussion it was defined as "an integration of well-adjusted *muscular* performances".

It was agreed that the acquisition of skill is important in the development of personality because it gives personal satisfaction and an increase of social status, which is the most important stimulus of all. Skill may contribute to the development of personality in at least three ways: it may have an economic value; it may enhance the contribution that an individual can make to the life of his social group; or it may contribute to his enjoyment of leisure. Skill in a factory operation has the effect of giving its possessor status in the eyes of fellow workers, but in this context it is important to remember that the term "skilled worker" has two possible connotations. It may be applied to a worker who has acquired skill through practice and experience in a series of minor jobs. Skill in this connexion complies with the requirement that the term shall be applied to the higher levels of ability. On the other hand a "skilled worker" may be a man who has passed through an apprenticeship and is therefore technically termed "skilled" though his actual performance may not reach a high level. In fact at the present time many younger workers value the achievement of the status of "skilled worker" because they then feel that they

can cease to think about their jobs and give their attention to other matters, such as social activities, which interest them more.

It next appeared that the possession of skill implies an awareness on the part of its possessor of what he is doing and of the muscular performance involved; and further that the highest skill involves the ability to interfere with habit and to adjust one's reactions to a particular situation. Thus a third-class surgeon will say to himself "This is such and such an operation" and will go ahead to apply the skill he has acquired. The first-class surgeon is capable of stopping himself, saying, "Hullo, here is something unusual," and quickly substituting a different mode of procedure from the normal. Similarly a first-class teacher can walk into a class, take note of the responses of the children and decide quickly and accurately what methods he will use in teaching them.

THE relative importance of personal satisfaction and enhanced social status probably varies considerably between individuals. A rich and important surgeon may earn a large fee by performing an operation on a patient whom he would not recognise if he met him in the street a few weeks later. A psycho-therapist on the other hand could not hope to make such fees, but he probably would not want to, because he might have the satisfaction of saving a soul rather than a life. The teacher, the psycho-therapist and the priest get an enormous amount of joy from the gratitude and friendship of the people whom they have served.

In the new schools it will be necessary to take into account the supreme importance of providing pupils with the opportunity of acquiring skill and of exercising skill in such a way as to make the maximum contribution to the school community. Reference was made to P. I. Kitchen's book, *From Learning to Earning*, in which he quoted two instances which illustrate this point. The first was a boy of fifteen earning good money in a machine shop. When he came to the Continuation School he had nothing but

contempt for the carpenter's tools that he was invited to use in the workshop, and this contempt was transferred to the whole school. He was completely unco-operative until someone discovered that he was a successful breeder of prize rabbits. He was invited to give a talk to the school on rabbit-breeding. This he did with great success, and from that moment his entire attitude was changed and he was able to identify himself with the school which had recognised him, and to which he had been able to contribute. The other was a girl of fifteen, intelligent, socially gifted, but entirely devoid of interest in anything to do with books and the three R's. She was a pest until she was made a member of the programme committee, and thereupon appeared as a born organiser, and her attitude changed as completely as the boy's.

THIS led to the question of securing the co-operation of the pupils both in methods of teaching and in the general discipline of the community. Instances were quoted to show that in the training of both nurses and factory workers learning is more rapid and the application of knowledge more intelligent if the pupils are told the reason for doing things by the methods prescribed instead of being merely instructed in procedure; and moreover that the discipline which is necessary in every community is much less irksome and more effective if it is the outcome of willing and understanding acceptance of its necessity.

LOOKING at the picture as a whole it was seen that an important consideration was how far the skills taught in the schools were relevant to the skills needed in the larger world. Latin and Greek are the vocational skills of the learned clerk, but they have come to be accepted as the essentials of a liberal as distinct from a vocational education. The time has now come for a recognition of the fact that a liberal education can, and must, also be based on the skills required in the modern world, and in the neighbourhood in which the young people will live.

Moreover, if we are educating for a democratic society, there must be no bars to promotion for anyone who has the ability, even to the Foreign Office and the Admiralty.

THIS at once leads to the question of social skills. Manners and "graces" are part of the social equipment which has in the past been given exclusively to pupils of schools for the children of the well-to-do. Educators must study the social pattern and find out what are the social skills which open the door to the hitherto closed opportunities, and how to teach them in the schools for the many.

FINALLY it was necessary to face the question of failures, of the proportion, large or small, of boys and girls who leave school with a feeling of disappointment and frustration. One aim of the new schools must be to reduce this proportion, and to send young people out into the world feeling happier, more socially skilled, and more able to take their share as an integral part of society.

ONE frequent cause of failure was the disproportion between aspirations and capacity. This may be caused by the ambition of parents, by wrong guidance at school, or by lack of facilities at school, owing to staffing deficiencies. The remedies are obvious, but not always immediately attainable, though a good deal can be done by providing more skilled guidance in the choice of occupation while the child is still at school, and by cultivating the co-operation of parents.

It is important, too, that when a youngster has made a wrong choice, and discovered it, he should not be labelled a failure, but helped to make a second choice and start again. An obstacle here which must be removed is the economic pressure caused by the fact that such a course may involve additional financial burdens on the parents.

FAILURE may also occur in instances where all the evidence shows that the capacity is there, but fulfilment is lacking because of some difficulty in the personality. When this happens the answer is generally psychological rather than educational.

THE level of aspiration is closely related to the culture pattern. For instance, in one of the tribes described by Margaret Mead the pattern of excellence was the gentle, unaggressive type that one might associate in England with a law-abiding bank-clerk; in another it was the aggressive, even blood-thirsty, warrior-type; in the United States it is symbolised by the phrase "from log-cabin to White House". It is even perhaps worth while remembering that Christ was regarded as a failure by most people at the time of His crucifixion.

MORE research is needed into the causes and kinds of failure, but in the meanwhile much can be done by telling boys and girls in school about the occupations that are available, what will be expected of them if they enter them, and what they may expect from them.

IX What is General Knowledge?

By A. PINSENT

I PROPOSE, without even an apology, to make an excursion into an aspect of educational theory. Theory, of course, is somewhat out of fashion at the moment, and many people show signs of extreme impatience at the very mention of the word. Nevertheless, we

cannot do without it. We must attempt to justify our practice, and we cannot do so without some clear realisation of the principles which seem to underly our educational arrangements and teaching methods.

YEARS ago, writers of the more lurid forms of melodrama were wont to use descriptive sub-titles for their literary efforts, e.g., "Maria Monk or The Mystery of the Red Barn". Their object, apparently, was to suggest the probability of some intriguing or even scandalous revelations. I think I might, with advantage, follow the custom. My title, suitably expanded, might then read: "What is General Knowledge? or, The Schoolmaster's Everlasting Dilemma". Whether the denouement will prove to be as intriguing as the sub-title sounds I must leave you to judge. Possibly if I were to add "with illustrations from the Norwood Report" the effect on some of my audience might be more pronounced. In any case my theme will be a melodrama of sorts, based on the history of education, with the schoolmaster in the heroic rôle defying the demons of change. (For 'schoolmaster' you may also read 'schoolmistress'.)

PERHAPS I can best begin by attempting to define some phrases which will keep recurring in my theme, after which I will call your attention to certain significant, even revolutionary changes in contemporary secondary education. Then we can proceed, profitably I hope, to the main matter.

We are gathered to discuss a problem of synthesis; how to integrate school and society.

WHAT is involved in this problem of synthesis? It implies, I think, that in any historical period, the curriculum and the social organisation of the school system must be such that the knowledge and the skills learned in school, and the attitudes acquired by the pupils in the course of their learning shall enable as many of those pupils as possible to *participate effectively* in the political, social, and economic, and, if you like, cultural life of the society in which they will grow up as adults. The operative words are "participate effectively".

In that case we need to examine the nature of the relation between schools and society.

I believe that the relation can best be expressed in terms of *demand and response*, that is, the schools are always responses to social demands. This does not mean, of course, that synthesis must be exclusively a one-way process, the schools being determined completely by society. If we, as educators, are to justify our existence, we must suppose that the schools do have, in the long run, some determining influence on society. We hope therefore that in the process of synthesis society itself will be modified, in some degree at least, in the direction of values represented by the schools. Nevertheless, this possibility does not invalidate the suggested formula since any changes in the social awareness of values due to education will lead to changes in the demands for further education.

If we accept this formula it follows at once that the synthesis we are seeking cannot be any final and definitive state. It must be, rather, a continuous process of mutual adaptation and assimilation. This is why I added my suggestive sub-title, namely, "the schoolmaster's *everlasting dilemma*". The warning implied therein is not misplaced. A glance at the recorded history of schools and schoolmasters reveals that both have been more than usually prone to become fixed within a framework of verbal definitions and static institutions. If I may be allowed a biological figure of speech, I would say that educational systems have tended to produce an undue proportion of intellectual invertebrates of the order Crustacea. This is not by any means due entirely to the specific nature of teachers. Appointing bodies act as a selective environment and thus we get an awful example of the unfortunate results which may accompany survival of the fittest. Whether or not the prospect of a condition of continuous adaptation is restful or attractive, we must include within the concept of synthesis a factor of change. In education we are dealing with evolutionary development rather than static perfection.

WHAT are the media of synthesis? These I take to be the curriculum, and the school system considered as a social organisation. It is a mistake to suppose, as some schoolmasters appear to do, that the schools are nothing but a curriculum. However, this evening, I propose to disregard the school as a social organisation, and to concentrate upon certain *persistent* problems in the selection and arrangement of a suitable curriculum. The social aspects of the problem will be dealt with by other speakers.

MY ultimate objective is the proper training of teachers. If synthesis is a continuous process and not a definitive condition no set of logical definitions or administrative directions, or any mechanical arrangement of buildings can, by themselves, constitute a solution to the problem. Neither is the process automatic. In this respect, synthesis resembles liberty. It can be guaranteed only by eternal and intelligent vigilance. Thus, teachers have a most important function in the process. To use a familiar chemical term, they ought to be the active catalysers in the synthesising reactions. Therefore, their attributes and attitudes are of decisive importance.

In the next place, the contemporary social background of English education needs careful consideration. We are living through one of the critical phases of world history, comparable in significance to the Renaissance. The political, economic, and social framework of world society is in a process of flux. This makes it difficult to forecast with any accuracy for what kind of a society the schools in the next historical period must provide the appropriate response. There are indications, however, of two predominant trends, one toward a planned economy with a considerable measure of centralised control; the other toward an affirmation of the value and the rights as well as the obligations of the individual. One familiar expression of this affirmation is the now common phrase—equality of educational opportunity. This affects us in England most particularly in

connection with secondary education. Hitherto, secondary education (as it has been understood by the people who count) has been the academic training of a social and intellectual élite in certain linguistic and mathematical disciplines. If you doubt this, ask a random sample of people what images come spontaneously to mind when you mention a few key words like "education", "scholar", and "knowledge". I shall be surprised if you do not get in the responses a high proportion of imagery connected with universities, dons, classics, wranglers, libraries, grammar-schools, and grammar-books. But the Education Act of 1944 enacts (whether or not it is intended to be taken seriously) that *all* children over the age of eleven must have secondary education. That is the significant and revolutionary change we have to face, and take adequate account of, in our contemporary organisation of synthesis.

SECONDARY education for all, coupled (we hope) with real equality of educational opportunity. May I add, by way of parenthesis, that if the English system is based on Christian principles as is so often proclaimed (see the Norwood Report) then we should not only face this revolutionary change with equanimity but actually welcome it as an obvious manifestation of the principles in question. There seems to be, however, on the part of some at least of the Christians, a singular reluctance even to face the implications of this social trend, to say nothing of welcoming it. That is by the way. In so far as we are prepared to acknowledge and implement the principle it is necessary for us to agree upon the interpretation of equality. What, precisely, ought we to mean by equality of educational opportunity? It means first, I suggest, opportunity *backed by sufficient financial provision* as well as the bare legal enactment for every child to go as far up what we call the "educational ladder" as his aptitudes and temperament permit. Secondly, and this is even more important than the first condition, it ought to mean adequate opportunity for every

child, whatever his aptitudes and temperament, to *participate effectively* in the curriculum of the school. By effective participation I mean participation with such a balance of success over failure as will be psychologically satisfying to the pupils. In other words, I do not consider that we shall establish equality of educational opportunity if we build large numbers of schools equipped like palaces for everybody to attend, and at the same time keep fifty per cent. or so of the school population bored and frustrated by a curriculum which is intellectually beyond their grasp.

THUS, it is from the point of view of secondary education for all, and real equality of educational opportunity as I have just described it that I want to approach this problem of synthesis and of knowledge in relation thereto.

AFTER this rather lengthy preamble we can now go on to the main matter, namely, what are we to understand by general knowledge and what has that to do with the integration of school and society?

FIRST, I shall take for granted that the integration is desirable. Given sufficient time I could prove, with chapter and verse, that it is not only desirable but vitally necessary both to the individual and society. However, I will assume that you will grant me that point without further argument.

USUALLY the first sign that a school system and curriculum are out of gear with society is a rising clamour that the schools are not educating for life and that they ought to educate for life. It is true that the most self-assured of the agitators are often the least precise about what they mean by life. That, however, does not stay their clamour. Usually they intend that particular aspect of our economic, social or ecclesiastical organisation in which they have a special financial or spiritual vested interest. If pressed to say what they mean more precisely, many of the critics will say that the schools are not providing the proper kind of instruction ;

that we need some new subjects ; that we ought to have more general knowledge, *e.g.*, general science, general history, general literature, instead of the old-fashioned specialised examination stuff which is of no use to anybody (that is, of course, of no use to the particular critic).

GLANCE for a moment at the Norwood Report. On page 56, under the heading "The claims of new subjects : Education for life", it says : "Much evidence has been submitted to us which urges the claims of many subjects and topics of teaching for inclusion in the curriculum. We have given much consideration to the evidence, though it soon became apparent that if all the claims were to be met, the school week would be insufficient for the new subjects without taking into account the old. Running through such pleas, as a common element, is the desire that education shall equip pupils to meet the conditions in which they will later live their lives, in fact to prepare them for life ; the pleas differ as regards that aspect of life for which preparation should be made. Attention is drawn to the duty of the individual to take an informed interest in international relations, in the economic and social structure of society, in government and administration local and central, to be instructed in the history and economic resources of other countries particularly the newer countries, to be trained to recognise and resist propaganda and partisanship and the appeal of the printed word merely because it is printed. Others emphasise preparation for a livelihood and urge that vocational training shall find a larger provision in all schools. Others again have in mind the right use of leisure and ask that pupils shall be equipped by the right training at school to employ their free time to advantage. Others point to specific situations for which schools should prepare by instruction in First Aid, in seamanship, and agricultural work, in cooking (for boys), in carpentry (for girls), in mothercraft for older girls. The list could be much extended". On a

later page the Report adds, "Some of such subjects are Economics, Social Studies, Colonial History, American History, Russian History, Comparative Religion, Ethics, Clear Thinking".

SOME American authorities have gone farther in this direction than we have in England. They seem to have tried to include in their school programmes and college courses samples of every conceivable sort of information and activity which any pupil might possibly need at any time in the present or the less remote future.

HERE, then, we have one possible interpretation of general knowledge. Let us call it the encyclopedic interpretation. In this case synthesis is identified with an encyclopedic curriculum.

Now, what is the schoolmaster's response to this demand? It usually takes one or other of the following forms:—

I haven't studied any of these things in college. I couldn't possibly teach them. What would the pupils think of me if I were to try?

There are only twenty-four hours in a day, and seven days in a week, and we must eat and sleep sometimes, somehow. (I mention seven days in a week because the English tradition is founded on Christian principles and in many places the accepted test of correct Christian orthodoxy is the kind of church one attends. Thus the schoolmaster is liable to be fully occupied on Sundays.)

Some of these demands for new subjects are mere irresponsible frivolities; just passing fashions or personal whims. As soon as we get all the new knowledge nicely arranged in syllabuses for the appropriate examinations another lot of equally irresponsible agitators will start to clamour for more new subjects. And, if we teach all the pupils all this stuff there is no guarantee that any particular children will require any particular items in this encyclopedic programme.

Finally, education is not identical with information and instruction. It does not follow that everything that can be memorised in school can be applied in a real life situation even if the information is relevant to just that situation. There is, also, a difference between memorising and understanding. Memorising all the dates in world history will not guarantee historical intelligence, any more than memorising mathematical formulæ will guarantee correct solutions to problems or memorising the titles of the books of the Bible a comprehension of Christian ethics. Intellectual education must include not only facts but also comprehension of the logical relations between them. Moreover, the human mind is not like a mechanical *assembly* of juxtaposed elements. It is rather a dynamic system which strives toward a condition of internal harmony and unity. People with merely encyclopedic memories may lack judgment, and awareness of purpose. They are, quite often, at a loss in a practical situation particularly if the situation is not exactly identical with what they have memorised. In short, absorbing an encyclopedia is not a necessary or a sufficient condition for synthesis.

LET us see how the Norwood Committee deal with this little problem. I will quote a few typical arguments:—

"These very subjects and topics proposed to us for special attention depend for their study and appreciation upon the ordinary subjects of the curriculum . . .

"Teaching of the kind desired can best be given incidentally by appropriate illustration and comment and digression through the ordinary school subjects . . .

"The claims of some of these subjects can be met, in so far as it is desirable and possible to meet them in schools, by a change of emphasis and a reconsideration of the content (*i.e.*, of existing subjects) . . .

"Some subjects (*e.g.*, Ethics) are not suitable for formal study in schools . . .

"Some subjects (*e.g.*, Comparative Religion) are beyond the range of boys and girls of secondary school age . . .

"If a need is felt for special lessons in Clear Thinking, it would seem to indicate that for some reason or other the subject-matter of the original subjects which, after all represent great provinces of human thought, is not used to advantage . . .

"We conclude then," say the authors of the Report, "that new subjects are not required." Objections disallowed, as they would say in court.

THE main assumption underlying the schoolmaster's counter-arguments is that knowledge and skills can be analysed into fundamental and incidental components which can be arranged in a hierarchy of levels; and that the incidental can be understood and controlled through the medium of the fundamental of which it is the ostensible manifestation. There is much to be said for this point of view. The history of knowledge indicates that by recognising similarities of attribute and relation in everyday experience we can reduce what seems at first sight a bewildering confusion to simplicity and order. This economises time and energy and at the same time provides us with a powerful means of prediction and control. By reducing observations and processes to abstract principles we can become to a marked degree independent of time and place and therefore more sure of the future. And in the background, there is always the hope that the curriculum can be made independent of public demand and educational change.

In other words the schoolmaster replies to the "encyclopediast"¹ by emphasising another and a superior kind of general knowledge. Let us call this abstract or logical generality.

In this case some common attribute or relationship appears to be manifested by a

¹ You may not find the word "encyclopediast" in the dictionary, but it has a sufficiently sinister sound for my purpose.

wide range and variety of experiences, and one fundamental process is common to many superficially different practical operations. This type of generality is revealed in its most characteristic forms in grammar, pure mathematics, and logic; and we may add, the activities most characteristic of its production are most highly organised in the universities. Some authorities claim that such activities are the sole function of the universities. I would ask you to make a note of this claim for reference later.

THIS distinction between fundamental and incidental knowledge is a godsend to the harassed schoolmaster. It enables him to save his face, his time, and his educational conscience all in one and the same operation. If he can concentrate on the teaching of the fundamental components of knowledge in school he can safely leave the incidentals of everyday experience to look after themselves. So we find in the history of schoolmasters and school systems an apparently irresistible tendency to reduce any and every curriculum to some form of grammar, pure mathematics or symbolic logic, and, if there are any residues which cannot be reduced to the contemporary dominant fashions of abstract thought they are quietly discarded as unimportant. Thus, school curricula freeze as it were into static sets of formal propositions and processes while the society outside the school keeps flowing on. When the freezing is sufficiently far advanced the agitators begin again. "The schools are out of touch with society," they say; "What about synthesis? What is more—the majority of your unfortunate pupils are bored to desperation by your wretched grammar; what about your methods?"

THE schoolmaster now adopts a very subtle device. He borrows and elaborates two convenient and plausible psychological hypotheses. He asserts that the formal curriculum, just for the very reason that it is so difficult and so confoundedly uninteresting is supremely valuable as a mental training and a moral discipline. (It has been widely

assumed that the more miserable we are on this earth the greater will be the probability of our getting the option on the freehold of a mansion in heaven). He also argues that since all the out-of-school experience must be some manifestation of the fundamental knowledge taught in school therefore the latter must transfer *automatically* from the school context to everyday life contexts. These hypotheses enable the schoolmaster to make the best of both this world and the next, while he himself sits pretty.

UNFORTUNATELY, both these arguments are partially false, and their falsity is most apparent when we have to organise secondary education for all with equality of educational opportunity.

CONSIDER the first argument. I cannot conceive how any curriculum can provide a mental training unless the pupils participate effectively in the activities. For example, it can be shown experimentally, that unsuccessful responses are quickly abandoned. It is not difficulty as such, but difficulty successfully overcome which provides the mental training and strengthens the will to persevere. Persistent failure leads to boredom, apathy, and rejection of responsibility. It is more productive of mental laziness and downright immorality than of mental power or moral rectitude. The educative effect of any curriculum is not an absolute product of any particular subject-matter but is relative to the intellectual capacities of the pupils concerned. It does not follow that what is best for an intellectual élite is good for the intellectual rank and file.

TURNING to the other argument, it has been demonstrated, experimentally, that while the effects of learning may transfer from a learning context to a test context, the transfer is seldom, if ever, complete; is not automatic; and is limited by the intellectual aptitudes of the learner. One reason for this is fairly obvious. Stated in terms we have already employed the fundamental knowledge can be applied to an incidental situation only in the degree to

which the fundamental principle concerned is explicitly recognised by the learner as being a component of the incidental experience. In other words there must be an adequate acquaintance with the incidental details of experience before the appropriate formula can be recognised therein.

THIS limiting factor operates even in the thinking of the highly gifted student. It is very well described by the author of a recent text-book on physical organic chemistry. "It is," he says, "one of the most fundamental and familiar assumptions of organic chemistry that like substances react similarly and that similar changes in (molecular) structure produce similar changes in reaction. Yet the application of the principle requires so great an exercise of judgment, offers so wide an opportunity for the wisdom that *comes only with experience*, and for the genius that seems almost intuition, that there is some justice in the compliment or gibe, whichever it may be, that this is an art and not a science." (Hammett. *Physical Organic Chemistry*, p. 184.) Most of us have found how difficult it is to recognise the neat skeletons of logical fallacies portrayed in the standard text-books on the anatomy of logic when we meet them clothed as it were in the flesh and blood and literary fripperies of a political argument or the more sombre robes of religious exhortation. Even the professional logicians have been known to ignore or misinterpret their own rules when they attempt to deal with an unfamiliar field of experience. There is no need, however, to go for evidence of this difficulty to the more esoteric branches of modern science or formal logic. Which of us has not tried and failed dismally to apply the fundamental principles and methods of a theoretical treatise on psychology to the living complexities of a class of ordinary children. The difficulty of such application is so great, seemingly, that many practical teachers declare with some asperity that "the child" is not merely an abstraction; it is a downright absurdity. If any further

demonstration should be required, listen to what the practical politicians say about the theoretical economists.

THE plain fact is, of course, that we cannot separate knowledge into two such components which can then be treated in artificial separation for the purposes of curricula and education.

THUS, I submit that one aspect of the synthesis of school and society is a clear appreciation on the part of schoolmasters of the proper relation between the fundamental and incidental aspects of knowledge; between the abstract and the encyclopedic modes of knowing. This relation must be established in the mental development of each succeeding generation of learners.

THIS, then, is the schoolmaster's everlasting dilemma. Society demands, incessantly and insistently, that current advances in knowledge and new technological applications shall be recognised adequately in the school curricula. In face of this demand the harassed schoolmaster tends to take refuge within a system of grammatical rules or logical formulæ and he defends his position with psychological excuses which will not bear exhaustive examination.

THERE is a social as well as an epistemological aspect of this problem. The possession of any kind of esoteric knowledge is always a source of great pride. The abstract general knowledge we have discussed, by reason of the great powers of control it makes possible, confers valuable political and economic advantages upon those people who can master and apply it. Therefore it commands a high prestige and is much sought after. It becomes an object of veneration. It is pursued for its own sake apart from its possible practical applications as if its possession had magic significance. Intelligence is identified without remainder with the mental aptitudes which are required for its mastery. Finally, the possession of such knowledge becomes a sign of belonging to a distinct and exclusive social class. This

class then demands a curriculum and school system which shall concern itself exclusively with the current profitable or fashionable form of abstract generality, and in this way it seeks to perpetuate its class structure and privilege. Since only a minority can have the intellectual capacity to master the knowledge and skill successfully, these tendencies run directly counter to the organisation of any equality of educational opportunity as I have defined it. In our Western civilisation this social-class aspect of the problem has been most clearly manifested in connection with the grammar of the Latin language and the classical philosophy and logic. But we must not disregard the possibility that in the post-war world a scientific technocracy may succeed the classical aristocracy and elevate the formal abstractions of special sciences or economics to the level of the sacred and immutable. Latin grammar is not the only possible obstacle to synthesis.

WHAT can we do about all this? This question takes us from curriculum into method.

THERE is in the background, of course, a complex theoretical problem concerning the essential nature of logic and truth, but this, I think, has now been solved at least with a satisfactory degree of approximation. Discussion of this problem is beyond the scope of this paper. Anybody interested can find the details in current text-books on scientific inference.

I AM concerned with methods of selecting and arranging the curriculum for the purpose of education and synthesis. In teaching, we must first approach any field of study always through the details of everyday experience and make sure that the pupils participate effectively, so far as it is possible for them to do so, in the experiences. Only then should we begin the reflection and analysis necessary to bring to clear awareness the abstract principles implied. Finally the learners must get adequate practice in applying the principles to further experience. The

essential factor in the educating and synthesising process is the effective participation of the learners *at each stage* in the intellectual activity. The learning cannot be hurried nor can any phase of the process be omitted with impunity.

Now, I find few schoolmasters who do not agree enthusiastically with these rules of selection and arrangement, in conversation, but my experience of actual school practice indicates far less enthusiasm in the everyday work of the schools. There one finds a marked tendency to omit the first phase of the learning process—the participation in experience—and to deal very perfunctorily with the third. Only such examples are contemplated as are likely to occur in the next examination. Thus attention is concentrated on the repetition of the verbal principles in the form in which some external authority has discovered or arranged them. This evil, I may say, is not confined to secondary schools. It is endemic in malignant forms in universities and training colleges.

HOWEVER, even the best methods of teaching, wisely organised, are limited by the intellectual aptitudes of the pupils concerned. Intellectually gifted pupils make rapid progress in the synthesis of the abstract and the encyclopedic, and they can achieve thereby a satisfactory degree of mental integration. The same is not true of all pupils. It is probable that all pupils above the level of the feeble-minded can achieve some degree, at least, of understanding if taught skilfully and given sufficient time. At the same time we have to ask ourselves whether the degree of logical understanding which can be achieved by a considerable proportion of the pupils who will come into the re-organised secondary schools is sufficient to guarantee their effective participation in the affairs of society. I doubt this. But we cannot leave these pupils at the purely incidental level. Effective social participation requires some kind of mental integration. Thus the question arises—is there any other principle of unity in experience beside the logical,

according to which we can organise the synthesis between school and society for the less logically gifted pupils in the new secondary schools.

I WOULD suggest that there is such a principle which I will call the aesthetic.

LET us consider, for a moment, this aesthetic form of generality. I must be brief and, I fear, dogmatic.

FIRST, I will commit myself to two propositions:—(a) the universe is always more extensive than our systems of knowledge; and (b) there is always more in an experience than we can define precisely in verbal propositions. If I am correct in these assumptions, we have to ask whether it is possible to know more than we can define verbally, and if so, how.

THIS is not by any means an academic quibble. We meet the problem in its practical aspects when we are concerned with the training of right conduct. And, of course, this is an important aspect of the synthesis between school and society. How many people can produce a dialectically sound definition of justice, right, or goodness. But somehow we must try to develop correct social attitudes, social judgment, and social conduct in people who cannot define their principles in words or even understand somebody else's definitions. In other words, we have to get pupils of all ages to participate effectively in a kind of general knowledge which they certainly cannot define with any precision, and which, possibly, may not be completely definable in verbal propositions at all.

How can we do this? My answer is by the apt use of concrete symbols, and this, I think, is where the artists come into the business of synthesis. Artists as a class appear to be highly gifted in the power of expressing aesthetic generality in the form of a concrete symbol, and if the symbol is apt, it is then possible for the ordinary person to participate effectively in the corresponding mode of general knowledge by contemplating

the symbol. Religious art and literature are full of instances of this participation through the medium of the symbolic. It would be interesting, for example, at the present time to speculate about which symbol expresses the generality most appropriate to our contemporary social conditions—the workers in the vineyard, all of whom got a penny no matter at what hour they clocked in; the marriage feast at Cana; the woman taken in adultery; the 'rough-house' in the Temple stock-exchange; or the renunciation on the Cross.

To illustrate what I mean by participation through the medium of symbolism and to show the power and flexibility of the method, may I quote from a most interesting article which appeared recently in the *New Era*, written by a Norwegian teacher:—

"In Norway to-day we speak about a 'front' among the children and with every possible right . . . It is an invisible front, as is the whole Norwegian moral front, but a real living front with its fields of activity and its own lines . . . Children do not think in the abstract. They do not know much about compulsory organisation or the corporate state, nor about objective justice and unconditional measures, nor about the basic values of Christianity, nor about the Hague Convention and the illegal depletion of a country's resources . . . The children's struggle is a struggle against persons, primitive and effective. The children do not understand the problem Bolshevism-Nazism. But they see crowds of miserable Russian prisoners of war and their hearts ache for them. Because the Russians suffer on account of the common enemy, solidarity with them is spontaneous. Hungry little boys give up their poor packets of lunchtime sandwiches if they can succeed in giving them to a Russian prisoner. If the German wardens are furious and threaten to beat them the boys are proud and happy. The little presents Russian prisoners give to show their gratitude are precious because concrete symbols mean so much to the children,

more than they can put into words. Something emotional and non-rational is there; the others, the enemy, the Quislings, the Germans have uniforms, symbols, emblems. We grown-ups also felt at first a desire to have some sign, some symbol of unity. With us this was a phenomenon of the first hectic months . . . but for the children the symbol continued to be important . . .

"THE symbol was not something fixed and constant . . . First the little metal flags worn on the coat lapel or the cap were forbidden. Then understanding mothers knitted the flag into jumper or sweater, and the caps were given borders in the national colours. That was forbidden. The copper coins had the royal coat of arms in relief. Jewellers were kept busy fixing safety pins to the backs of two-ore pieces and the coins were worn as badges until that was forbidden. Then they were worn under the lapel until the quislings made searches for them in school. The next thing was the paper clips. These signified 'We stick together' . . . It was great sport to brush past the German sentry at the school gate with a red-headed match sticking out of the cap. According to the children's definition this signified 'flaming hatred!'"

I PLEAD then for the recognition of art in the curriculum of the new secondary schools as a powerful medium of synthesis of school and society. Unfortunately, some school-masters (and mistresses) seem capable of envisaging art only in the form of human nakedness from which they recoil in shocked and pious horror. This view is too restricted. For our purpose, we must include in art the novel, short story, and drama; the film and radio; dancing and eurythmics; caricature in various forms; practical crafts; sculpture; architecture and town-planning. Moreover, the school buildings and social organisation of the schools are ever-present and important symbols. The children learn more in school than either they or the teachers ever put into words. This is why the ghastly barracks which were the fashion

in elementary-school building at the close of the nineteenth century were unfortunate both from an æsthetic and a social point of view.

I AM inclined to believe, by the way, that the only satisfactory meaning we can give to that blessed word 'appreciation' is the process of inducing within the pupils an awareness of æsthetic generality through the contemplation of the symbol, that is, the particular example of art which occupies the attention of the teacher and pupils at any time.

HOWEVER, even if we give full theoretical and practical recognition to the æsthetic form of generality and mode of knowing, I doubt whether we shall solve curriculum problems completely, particularly in secondary education as proposed in the Act of 1944, if we are determined to implement fully the principle of effective participation.

THE æsthetic mode of knowing, as well as the logical, is limited by the intellectual and emotional endowments of the pupils. I fear that education authorities and secondary schoolteachers have not, as yet, even begun to realise the extent and the complexities of this problem of organising equality of educational opportunity when *all* pupils over eleven years of age will be directed into genuine secondary education. Differences in mental aptitudes, in power of logical and æsthetic discrimination are data to be accepted with natural piety. They cannot be explained away in environmental terms. Neither can they be ignored. The trouble is, of course, that quite a significant proportion of the permanent officials of the Ministry of Education, of present-day grammar school teachers, of university tutors, are quite ignorant of the non-grammar, non-academic types of what will be, in the next historical period, secondary pupils. Some of these dignitaries, even though they may be responsible for the implementation of educational policy, have never in their lives been into a non-grammar school.

THUS, we still have to seek some principle of unity in practical life which does not involve, to any great extent, the capacities for grasping logical and æsthetic forms of generality. And, the importance of this kind of integration increases as the pupils' powers of mastering abstract-logical and æsthetic generality decrease to average or less.

THIS brings up the importance of what may be called purposive associative integration.

IN the pre-occupation with abstract 'pure' knowledge and logical unity, schoolmasters seem to have under-rated, sadly, the integrative function of a practical purpose which is emotionally satisfying to the learner. Items of experience can be organised, not only by reason of their logical connections and (or) æsthetic interest, but also because they all share the common qualification of being a means to some end which has value for the learner. Some people show this purposive associative interest to a high degree. A. L. Rowse in *The English Spirit* gives a vivid description of Livingstone, the missionary-explorer. He seems to have had an extraordinarily passionate curiosity which drove him to learn everything he wanted for his purpose. As a young lad in a cotton factory he fixed a book on a spinning jenny so that he could catch sentences as he walked to and fro. He studied botany, zoology, and geology. He was observant and thorough at gardening, carpentry, mechanical work, and at native languages. He learned from a ship's captain during a voyage to the Cape how to use a quadrant and take navigational observations. While on holiday at the Cape he studied practical astronomy with the Astronomer Royal. Livingstone's encyclopedic knowledge reminds one of Rabelais' notion of a Gargantuan curriculum.

I KNOW that logical analysis and understanding entered into Livingstone's mastery of this wide-ranging and varied knowledge. He was probably something of a logician, philosopher, theoretical scientist, and theologian. My point is that his interests were

pre-eminently in practical achievement rather than in theoretical system. I cannot see that we are justified in comparing the Livingstone type with the academic scholar or the creative artist to the detriment of the former. Society has need of all, surely. The types are complementary rather than exclusive. Moreover, many more pupils who will come into our future secondary schools may achieve the effective participation in both school and society, which is essential for their full mental and moral development, through the enthusiastic pursuit of practical ends than will achieve it through logical analysis, or artistic creation. This, I think, is the justification for due recognition of practical projects, even of vocational interests, in the curriculum of our future secondary schools. It is sometimes forgotten that abstract knowledge and power of logical analysis are, in fact, direct vocational interests of the learned clerk.

THE psychological value of this purposive associative type of connection and unity is a sufficient reason for the use of what we call the topical or the project methods of teaching and learning, and for the organisation of curricula with respect to centres of interest rather than logical subjects. These methods should find an honourable place in our secondary schools.

WE now approach the 'moral' of my cautionary tale. I said, if you remember, that while the media of synthesis are the curricula and the social organisation of the schools, at the same time the teachers must be the active catalysers in the process of synthesis. I doubt whether they can fulfil this active function unless they appreciate very clearly the nature and inter-relations of the encyclopedic, abstract-logical, and aesthetic modes of generality, together with the purposive associative type of integration, and the corresponding methods of learning and teaching.

OBVIOUSLY, then, the teachers' own knowledge and attitudes are important. The

teaching profession has valued too highly the abstract-logical mode of learning and has persistently under-rated the aesthetic mode, and the purposive associative method of arrangement. This attitude has been enhanced by university standards and practice. Such an attitude may have been appropriate while the secondary schools were the rather exclusive training institutions for an intellectual élite, but, most certainly, it will not be appropriate for our re-organised secondary schools. The practical problem for those of us who are professionally interested in training teachers is how to provide the appropriate knowledge, attitudes, and frame of mind. The answer to this problem may involve a re-valuation of university standards and methods. Emphasis in the universities is put upon the abstract-logical aspect of generality, and the verbal-analytical mode of thinking. I am not complaining about this. I am addicted to this mode myself as you who have listened to this paper will already have guessed. There have been also indications of the same tendency in the training colleges. It has been claimed that a training in the abstract logical aspect of knowledge will guarantee appreciation of and power to use the other modes of teaching and learning. This, I think, is doubtful. One's frame of mind tends to be organised according to the way in which one has studied, and this frame of mind acts as a selective operator in one's future learning. It seems to me that a successful teacher must have some insight into and sympathy with the preferred modes of learning of his pupils. This is equivalent to saying that he himself must be able *and willing* to think and feel in those modes. To do this sufficiently well, it is desirable, I think, that the prospective teacher shall have acquired some part at least of his own knowledge in the associative and aesthetic as well as the verbal-analytic modes of thinking and learning so that he is reasonably well versed in what one might call the appropriate 'idiom'. This consideration will take on a first-rate practical importance when the recommenda-

tions of the two minority reports of the McNair Committee have to be evaluated. There is rather more to be decided than the simple alternative—universities or training colleges—for the teachers of the re-organised secondary schools.

In conclusion, I think we can state the permanent problem of the curriculum, and of synthesis in the following summary form: The schools must provide a satisfactory response to contemporary sociological

demands. At the same time the school-master must take account of two limiting factors, namely, time and psychological endowment. He has to choose samples from the total available pool of knowledge and organise these in varying proportions according to the three modes, abstract-logical, purposive associative, and æsthetic in such a way as to guarantee for every pupil the optimum degree of effective participation in the school activities and in the affairs of society.

X Social Skills

(a) *SPEECH*

By T. H. PEAR

"SPEAKING" is probably a better word than "speech" to describe this skill. It is certainly better than "language", with which it is often confused. It is important to remember the part played in speaking by gesture, posture and facial expression. Study of this has been made possible by the development of the radio, which causes broadcasters to speak to audiences who cannot see them and whom they cannot see.

PROBABLY no two acts of speaking are identical. Those addressed may be different; even an alteration in the room has its effect. Speaking is an act that can be studied by the phonetician and by the psychologist. It is seldom a solo performance.

It is a mistake to suppose that all people think in words, nor is it true that it is impossible to think clearly about anything unless you can put it into words. Musicians, sculptors and other creative artists frequently think in images and are inarticulate in words.

What are the functions of speaking? Broadly speaking, they are three:

- (1) To produce sympathy (it may be anger or amusement) in the listener;
- (2) To issue orders or to get something done;
- (3) To impart or ask for information.

The fact that these correspond with the old tripartite division—feeling, willing, knowing—does not invalidate them.

THE effectiveness of speaking is often affected by the manner of speaking: when Edward VIII was Prince of Wales his "middle-class" accent contributed greatly to his popularity. On the other hand, the falling intonation which is characteristic of the ruling classes may give an effect of insolence and cause resentment. Speaking is at the present time one of the most important manifestations of personality, which is measured or assessed by the effect upon other people of one's appearance, expression, manner of speaking, and even perfume, if one is scented. If you object to this definition, remember the

word's association with the "persona" of Greek drama, which was a mask with a primitive loudspeaker attached to it. Personality may be called the outward, visible and audible sign, of an inward and spiritual grace. It should be distinguished from character, which refers to qualities such as honesty and integrity. For the inward characteristics I would use the word "self". Speaking to-day, then, as a manifestation of personality, can sway the world, as it has in the speaking of Hitler, Father Coughlin and Raymond Gram Swing, who speaks to an audience of eight million people.

FACTORS which go to make effective speaking are: clearness, articulateness, choice of words, pace, and an appreciation of what your audience can understand and is in a mood to understand. If you make your audience angry they must not be angry with you, but with what you are talking about.

WHAT can we do about it in schools? The subject called English consists too much of teaching people to spill ink on paper in patterns which please examiners, and leaving them incapable of putting a point of view in speech. The old distinction between standard English and dialect may be compared to that between battle-dress and fancy dress. When you are in battle-dress you may long for fancy dress, but if you were obliged always to wear fancy dress you would find it very awkward. Standard English gives us a way of speaking which will be unambiguous to our hearers. In spite of its shortcomings, the B.B.C. does do a great deal in that way. There is no doubt about what the announcers mean. It may be dull, like the lounge suit and the "black tie", which implies so much more than it says. The variety of evening dresses that a woman needs are more amusing. That is the justification of dialect. But why not have both? The object of having a standard pronunciation is to avoid making noises that irritate the people that you

are speaking to, and it may have to be varied in different environments, as Gracie Fields modified her broad Lancashire in New York.

WHAT is important is the social stratification of speech. There are certain dialects which are a social hindrance. For instance, lower-class Cockney offends even Londoners. There is also a tone which is habitual in North Country speakers, but which makes them sound truculent to Southerners. We must reckon with this as teachers. It has the same importance as tact and manners. The leisured classes have had time to develop the art of conversation and of getting on with other people. It is worth studying whether this cannot be made available to more people at a cheaper rate. There is the art of seeing what is the effect of what you say on your hearer, of doing the right thing about greetings and farewells, of effective and inoffensive interruption.

GOOD speaking can be taught from the beginning. Encourage children to give a description of something in front of them so that other children can identify it. Bad marks are to be given for "er-er" and such phrases as "you know". Next may come a description of something that is not in front of them. Later they may try putting a point of view that they hold, and then one which they know other people will oppose. Schools might well send teams to other schools to discuss things that really matter. The desired result will not be achieved by debate, which assumes that a question has only two sides, whereas most questions are polyhedral and have re-entrant angles. Debate is a stylised form of amusing yourself, and, far from getting shy pupils to their feet it keeps them in their seats through fear of being scored off by the school wits.

THIS is the sort of thing that must be done in schools if speaking is to be developed as a social skill, and no amount of practice in *writing* English will make up for the lack of opportunity for speaking it in school.

(b) *HOMEMAKING*

By MRS. WOOD

ONE good result of the war has been that people have been brought to a realisation of the importance of the housewife, and housecraft is now recognised as skilled work, and no longer despised.

It is interesting to note a change in the attitude towards home among young people in the services. At first they were glad to get away from home to new circles. Now their one thought is to get home in spite of interesting new experiences and learning new trades.

THE evacuation of 1939 roused the public conscience when it was discovered that so many women were not good housewives. The general tendency was to blame education, but although this was probably the main cause it was not the only one. Poverty and bad housing had also played their part.

NEVERTHELESS the educational system was clearly at fault, and an overhaul is obviously necessary. Education had been the prerogative of the wealthy, and its aim was to prepare boys for the professions and public service. The education of girls was more practical, but that of boys was purely academic. When free education was introduced it followed the same stereotyped and academic lines. The object was to train the bright child to gain a scholarship to the secondary school, although only one elementary school child in two hundred and fifty actually achieved this. Some training was given in domestic subjects and good work was done. Why then all this filth and lack of hygiene. The reason was that education did not face up to the facts and prepare pupils to enter life. There was no preparation for family life and citizenship, and too little encouragement of design and craftsmanship. Domestic subjects were looked upon as the refuge of the dull.

THE three most hopeful elements in the Education Act of 1944 are the raising of the

school-leaving age, the obligation to provide secondary education for all, and the establishment of the new nursery schools. It is necessary to approach its implementation with the right outlook, and we shall have to start right at the bottom, and not just attempt to deal with the extra years. Homecraft must take its place. It must not be isolated but must correlate with all other subjects. There must therefore be co-operation between teachers, and pupils must realise that the whole of school life is built up towards education for life.

IN planning the course in Housecraft it is necessary to realise that the position of the home has changed. Once it was the centre of activity. Clothes were made at home and food was grown at home. Now both are made in factories. Everything can be got without effort. Women do not even wash their own hair. They can leave their children at crèches. New materials and methods have reduced drudgery. The whole technique has changed—but not in the majority of homes. There must therefore be a balance between the old and the new and one of our objects must be to inspire the younger generation to strive to get new and up-to-date homes. We must see to it that everyone gets a course in housecraft—not only the dull and non-scholastic. The intellectual child needs it in order to balance his life.

HOME CRAFT is probably the best name, and it should start with the home as basis and include *the choice of the Home*; hygiene, drainage, heating, lighting, furnishing and decoration; *the Management of the Home*; choice and care of the appointments of the home; *The Management of the Family*; household budgeting, choice and buying of food, choice, care and cleaning of clothes, parenthood and family allowances, and the use of leisure.

THE work begins in the nursery schools, where children are taught health habits and learn to help in the laying and clearing of tables, and washing up. Children at this stage take great joy in handling a dustpan and brush and "helping" with housework, and parents can help by not discouraging them. There should be co-operation between the parents and the school, and, where necessary, classes for parents to show them what the school is trying to do.

At the primary stage the start made in the nursery school should be continued and made attractive through play activity. Children at this stage love pretty things and a sense of importance and achievement. There should be a homecraft centre in the school and children should be encouraged to take a pride in it. Instead of isolated classes there should be a scheme based on a central theme, e.g., a day in the country might involve washing and ironing a frock, cleaning shoes, and preparing a packed lunch; washing day would bring in the sorting and mending of clothes and the preparation of meals beforehand so that there need be no cooking when the washing was actually in progress; sleep would suggest a study of beds and bedding, ventilation of bedrooms and the care and washing of night clothes. The aim should be to make it good fun. Boys should work alongside girls. The general lines should be the same for both, though there might be some special bias; e.g., boys might make a set of shelves while the girls made the curtains for them.

At the secondary stage there is no need to leave out the grammar school on the score that examinations leave no time. The pupils can learn quickly (including manipulative skills) and therefore less time is necessary provided that they come to it with the right attitude and have not been trained to despise the work. They will gain mental refreshment and come more freshly to the academic work. The work in homecraft should be creative and involve personal

research. Pupils should experiment or work things out for themselves. Use should be made of visits, discussions and films, and a class might undertake a piece of communal work in which each can be responsible for a part, e.g., an embroidered bed-spread in squares. Pupils in the other types of secondary school can give more time to it but the lines of work will be the same.

Housewifery :

1. Household repairs and jobbery.
2. Civics and sociological studies :— housing, infant care, local government, etc.
3. Domestic Architecture : fixtures and interior decoration ; study of furniture and soft furnishings ; colour and design.

Cookery :

Taught as *food study* : sources of foods ; marketing ; preparation ; social and nutritional aspects ; cafes, canteens, packed meals ; comparison between home cooked and proprietary foods as regards cost, nutrition and labour-saving ; study of digestion, respiration, etc., should be included in Physiology and Biology classes.

Laundry :

1. Scientific study of fibres and fabrics, their sources, nature and treatment.
2. Hygiene : personal, household and civic cleanliness, with comparison of old and modern methods.
3. Care of clothes and furnishings.

Needlework and Dressmaking :

1. Choice of materials, durability, price.
2. Style, design and colour.
3. Comparison between home-made and ready-made.
4. Practical work : the making of an outfit for leaving school, for a party, for sport ; how to make the best of oneself.

Leisure :

Pastimes and pleasures ; how a well-run home leaves time for leisure ; planning a party ; beauty culture ; the acquirement of charm.

AGAIN the co-operation of parents is essential just as at the nursery stage. They must be got into school and asked to give children a chance of putting into practice what they learn at school.

(c) *THE ART OF LIVING TOGETHER*

By K. E. BARLOW

THE conception of health must be applied to the family. We are not concerned simply with the business of having babies, but with the business of building a home—a specific act done by two people in their own mode, based on joint action and joint responsibility. A girl and a boy swing out into an ambit of their own and do everything together. They are a biological unit. A family is the only living thing that has eternal youth. The conception of consistency and coherence is the basis of family life.

IN *Courtship* a man and woman are hoping for his woman and her man. Homes are isolated places. Leisure time is spent elsewhere, in cinemas, dance halls, parks. Opportunities of contact are limited. The Peckham Health Centre offered a very wide range of opportunities. Sixteen-year-olds went elsewhere if they could not bring a boy friend, so temporary membership had to be allowed. Often it only went on for about six weeks. For instance, Betty introduced her boy friend with the words "He's a lovely dancer". After six weeks what had happened? She had finished with him. He could only dance. This shows the importance of being able to measure a prospective mate against a social context. A barren social environment limits opportunities of testing joint sensibility. This

It will be seen that much of the work—some would say all—is equally suitable for boys and girls. It can form the basis of all the work of the school and correlate with a wide range of "subjects" such as art, craft, history, geography, science and mathematics. However it is used it involves close co-operation on the part of the staff, and a determination to restore the importance of the family in a happy community.

causes a poor selection of mate, and marriage has a poor start.

IN *Marriage* a home of their own is needed and then they need a baby. At Peckham there is constant overhauling of bodily health. Ill-health tends to produce withdrawal from experience.

Child-bearing. A subtle change takes place in a pregnant woman. If her reserves for building the baby are deficient her debility and lassitude make her withdraw from social activities. If she has full reserves her social activity is enhanced, and she is endowed with greater powers. This is the exception rather than the rule, but if it happens it can widen the scope of social contacts and activities. Nutrition, and the quality of nutrition of the mother is a very important factor in this. Protective foods (bread, milk, etc.) of first quality are difficult to get.

Child-rearing. The quality of the home arises from the mother's sensibility and its relation to the father's sensibility.

THE mother and the baby in the womb are two separate beings with service between them. The child helps itself and is shut off from all sensory experience while it gets on with body-building and laying down its faculties. Suddenly it is thrown into the

world of sensory experience, but its body has already produced senses to deal with it. This is the next stage, but the child still receives food from its mother's body and so the two bodies are still linked. Next comes weaning, and the food of the family table is gradually made available to the child. As the power of locomotion is developed the child tends to make away from its mother, a process which has been called skirt weaning.

NATURE'S way is to provide a rich environment and leave the child to help itself. In its home it lives in a modified and filtered world chosen for it by its parents. If the mother is not healthy this will affect the baby. The critical thing it does is to take away the mother's confidence in the power of nature to develop the baby's powers when it becomes poorly. Each development modifies the situation of the child in the home, and the whole family is affected. For example, the father is excited when the child first walks.

At the Nursery School stage in place of the awakening of fundamental faculties comes the co-ordination of bodily powers and the development of elementary skills. The child should be free to make its own response to what is presented to it—left to itself to take what it wants. It may be enticed by a particular skill and go on and on without boredom or fatigue until it masters it. Then the interest is gone, and it is off after some new thing. This is very important. Only the child can tell when the skill has been developed to its own satisfaction. The teacher cannot judge as the child can. In attempting to draw out all its potential skill the child must be allowed this autonomy. The development of a faculty depends on the use of it. Skill depends on the employment of a faculty or on co-ordination.

THE next problem is the environment. The child must have enough to call out the skills of which it is capable. Its development will be hindered if it lives in a barren world—if the school is ill-equipped, the emotional environment wrong, or discipline too severe.

At Peckham experiments were made in how to provide children with the means of bringing their native skills to new development. At first there was no discipline. The children ran wild, threw ash-trays about, and lighted fires on chairs. This was tried for six months and then order emerged. The children had got used to freedom, and the reaction from restriction wore off. A pattern of order developed. In the gymnasium they began with P.T. lessons, with an instructor giving orders. The children did not come. So they were left alone in the gymnasium and then they came—fifty or sixty together. There were no accidents. They learnt to use the apparatus, and acted in response to a situation instead of to a word of command, and they did not get into collision with one another.

SUCCESSIVE appetites for experience are the result of the development of faculties. The child has to bring its own order in response to a total situation. So it develops the ability to take action in response to its environment, and it must not be encouraged to withdraw from a total situation and act according to rule. Nature proceeds by filtration, and so must education. The integrative process must be based on the home.

THE relation between parents and children is mutual. Where the parents are healthy, and their faculties and powers fully engaged in social life, possessiveness does not develop. But it does come where there is frustration in the parents.

THE home unit must be integrated with the place in which it exists, and it needs a folk culture. The Peckham Centre brings the whole family in, and there is room for the father's occupation to take him away from the children. The adolescent needs to have occupation away from his family. Disease and debility withhold the parents from social life, and therefore the doctor can help to keep the life of the family healthy. A group of two thousand families gives a fairly representative cross-section of talent and skills, which gives an adequate incentive

to the child. What it sees about it brings the child to exercise the skills for which it has the capacity. So we need enough freedom and enough variation of stimuli and incentives to provide for exceptional talent.

THE Family in the Community. The only unit that can develop the potentiality of the child is the home. Children who mix badly and cannot identify themselves with the community come from deficient homes. A broken home produces an anti-social child. It is therefore clear that the cultivation of homes is of first educational importance.

(d) AGRICULTURE

By F. J. Wood

IN bringing before this Conference the subject of Agriculture, I feel I may be pardoned a few thoughts of a countryman at the end of over five years of war in Europe. We, as all the people in the towns, have suffered and worked, but at last we have heard the village bells ring out their message of victory in the west. We have found the silence of ruined belfries hardly less eloquent. We have sighed with relief and thankfulness as we surveyed the fields with the bare patches marking the crater of a bomb that shattered our windows, the torn roofs, the ravished woodlands and the scarred buildings. So writes *The Farmers' Weekly*.

THE world now knows of the importance of agriculture. The history of this war will be traced upon the fields of the farms of the Allies as surely as upon the battlefields of Europe and the East.

RICH pastures have been ploughed, beasts that could not be fed have been slaughtered and weary bodies have worked on by strength of will-power alone.

Homes must be kept healthy and integrated, and must be dealt with in terms of locality. The mixing of children with grown-up activities offers the best prospect of educational results. Localities as we know them are often not worth staying in. They have to be rebuilt from the bottom. They must be communities covering all social grades.

NOTHING can be done in schools about courtship until the young people reach the stage when they want it. They need the actual situation. Results will be achieved not by exhortation but by identification of the school with the locality.

FARMERS of many different races have worked together and all have come to know one another. Food is a fundamental right of the people of the world. Nothing should allow this right to be denied or restricted. Can we educate children as future responsible citizens if we do not bring this right of all people to be properly fed well before them while they are under our care in the schools?

THE soldier returns from his battle. The farmer's battle goes on. He fights on to ensure a healthy well-fed population throughout the countries of the world. What greater aim could any worker have? Can we ignore this in our schools?

FARMERS have had a faith that at some time in the future this highly industrialised country would discover that farming was of primary importance. This faith was ridiculed by too many important people in high places. May be too that faith was not shared by many in our schools. But British farming has astonished us all by the way in which it has performed its war work. Our farming folk will go on to fight the battle of the

famine that peace may bring. May be that battle will not be ignored in our schools. We could not ignore the efforts of our fighting services as they trained over our fields or as they fought in the skies while we worked on the farms and in the schools.

FARMING never stops for peace or war. "The pageant of the countryside goes on". As A. G. Street says, "Autumn, winter, spring, summer; ploughing; sowing; haymaking; harvest; ramming, lambing, fattening, fair; nothing can stop it and no man should attempt to hinder it".

WE in this country must heed our wartime lesson. Farming must be helped and this is a job for society and for our schools.

IF economy is necessary in the future—and we do not feel it need be if we use the great resources of the world—we must not allow the land of our country to be sacrificed.

MAY I again quote A. G. Street—"Although land is everlasting, it cannot speak for itself; so here one farmer speaks for it. He speaks proudly, not pleadingly, stating that age-old truth that if the land is to serve man, man must first be content to serve the land.

"MEN come and go; wars begin and end; empires rise and fall; dynasties wax and wane; governments pass; animals die; machines wear out; but the land is everlasting. No matter what may happen in the future, when daybreak strips off the black eiderdown of night from the countryside, the rural scene will be just the same.

"THE skylark will sing on high; the dew will be on the grass; the morning mists will be hung out to dry; and the work and plans of good farming will begin yet another day's sure progress towards harvest.

"LAND, thank God, stays put. And farming, again thank God, never stops."

TRULY is society served by the land. We should be deeply aware of the debt that we owe to the land. We can make our children aware of the debt.

IN the past few years, many more children have through war and evacuation been introduced to the countryside. They have learned much, but how lasting will be the effects of their experiences is doubtful. Yet they may always recall some knowledge of a rural society that was outside their experience gained in their homes and schools. It is of interest to reflect on certain statements made on the radio and in the press regarding this introduction of the town children to the countryside. Was evacuation seen as a means of widening the real experience of the children and their knowledge of their fellow citizens? Lord de la Warr appeared to see a somewhat narrow development. On September 14th, 1939, he said in a radio speech—"There has always been far too great a gap between town and country. Why not use this opportunity for teaching this generation of children just some of the more important don'ts of the countryside?" He seems to be thinking somewhat along the lines of the menace of the litter-lout, the damage to young crops, of gates left open and cattle allowed to stray. No doubt he had other thoughts of bridging the gap between the experience of the town and country child. Mr. Brown, Chief Inspector of the London County Council, saw great possibilities. He saw "a tremendous enlargement of background, of first-hand experience, which should be useful in later school work and in after life. This background is of special value in subjects like Geography, Science, History, etc., and in the appreciation of agricultural conditions in England often hitherto unknown to London children". The Board of Education—as it was then—in "The Schools in Wartime", refers to the surprise expressed by little children who discovered that milk came from cows, that sheep walk, and fruit grows on trees. What a criticism there is of urban teachers implied in these statements, but we realise, of course, that the discovery of the origin of milk, mutton and apples would not have been long delayed even if the children had not been brought into the country.

In peacetime we must aim at this widening of the child's background and his first-hand experience spoken of by Mr. Brown. How then can agriculture, so essential to society, be introduced into our schools? Winston Churchill in March, 1945, stated, "The war has taught us that we have long neglected the treasure house of the British soil. Twice in a generation we have called upon the farming community in spite of that neglect to keep the wolf from the door. They have not failed us". We have for our schools a treasure house in agriculture. But for many teachers this will mean a new attitude towards the curriculum. I believe it is in the Infants' School that one must begin to relate the life of the child in school to its life in the home and its village or town. One can think how the children in a country school react to a story about farmyard animals and then compare their reactions when told a conventional fairy story about princesses and giants. As Burton says, in his *The Education of the Countryman*, "It is never too soon to begin talking to children in a language they understand". It would indeed be wrong to stifle their imaginations. Children like the romantic and unreal, but it would equally be wrong to neglect the fund of inspiration that is found in our countryside.

OUR material in schools will be chosen as far as possible from things that are familiar. By this means we will show the child that there is a real purpose in what we are doing. In Arithmetic, we shall make our work relate to fields, to eggs, to milk and apples. We shall not have endless, meaningless calculations which are completely outside the experience of the child. The principle of the make-believe shop can be extended and we may well use the farm, the small-holding and the cottage. In English, too, we can give the child opportunities to write and speak on things with which they are familiar. They can read and learn of what others have written about the countryside.

WE who want to link the teaching in our schools with what is happening all around in the world outside the school building must realise that there are fundamental skills to be acquired and that it will often be necessary for good solid repetitive drill, say in certain rules in Arithmetic, to be given. We must never shirk this, though it may be somewhat dull for a teacher with real ideas. Always, however, will our approach be realistic. Most of our country children will be best suited by country material for this realistic approach. A certain minority may not and in the days of smaller classes, we may be able more adequately to cater for these. Again, too, in our desire to link school and society, town children may find in agriculture, because it is so essential for us all, a basis for reality in their school work.

In our History and Geography, we shall deal with familiar topics. We shall drop for most of our children the idea of teaching periods of history and of dealing with one continent at a time in Geography. How much do most of us remember of our History and Geography learnt in this way at our secondary schools? It is even more true that the children who were forced to leave school at the age of 14 have forgotten all they learned during the year spent "doing" the Stuarts, the term they spent on "Australia", or their weeks on proportion sums or on work with stocks and shares, if they were advanced enough to reach these heights of learning.

WE have to be bold in our approach. We must still perhaps in most of our schools have a time table, but we must not be slaves to it. Let us realise that if the timetable says "Arithmetic", it may well mean that our senior children are out calculating the area of the school field or estimating the weight of hay in a stack in a nearby field.

In English, too, there will be catalogues to be written for. There will be a speech for the Young Farmers' Club meeting to be

prepared. Science will take us into the Garden. History may mean a visit to an old farmhouse. Geography may see us busy at work in a field with an auger testing the soil. No longer will our children sit and endure hours of "chalk and talk" from the teacher. Let us be bold. Surely we should use the environment of the school to teach, using material with which the child is familiar at all stages in his school career.

BUT I can almost hear you saying—"How easy it is to theorise! Are we once again to have the vague generalisations of an enthusiast? How can all this be done? Theory is one thing, but it is practice that counts". You would certainly be right in allowing these thoughts to pass through your minds. In fact my only qualification to talk to you is the experience that I have gained of agriculture since I came to a rural school and more important, of the wider meaning of "education" that I have realised.

I SOON saw when I went to Hollingbourne school, which is a small country school with pupils from 4 to 14, numbering about 100, the value of a method of education that brings the child to a real understanding of the countryside. I realised in addition to the educational value of the cultivation of a garden, the gain to be derived from the exploration of farm land. There was no doubt, I felt, that a knowledge of the countryside and of the work of farmers and farm workers could best be gained through practical work on a garden and by visits to the farms of sympathetic neighbours. But the first task for the teacher—a non-specialist—in the school is to correlate these activities with the general work of the school, and this I have attempted to do at Hollingbourne. I have always tried to see agriculture as a social skill which was fundamental for the very existence of man. It was fundamental for society. Could it not therefore serve as one of the many links between school and society? We should be neglecting many of our opportunities if

we treated our farm visits as merely glorified nature walks, valuable though these undoubtedly are when in the charge of a capable and enthusiastic teacher.

WHEN many teachers take up a post in a school they feel that their knowledge is so inadequate that they cannot undertake to introduce into the school a study of the agriculture of the district. Fortunately, however, there are a number of books which do give great assistance. I have brought some of them along with me and they are included in my exhibition in the adjoining room which I hope you will have time to see. More valuable will be the help that can be given by the farmers and farm workers themselves. Although farmers usually have not the time to accompany a party of children round their farms in the day, they will generally talk with a teacher in the evening and often will go round their farms, explaining points as they go. This has in my case proved most valuable. I have found the farm workers also most helpful. Farmers and their workers, like many teachers, love to talk "shop" because they have such an interesting job.

MUCH help can be gained from the County Education Agricultural Staff and if one is fortunate, a member of the Staff may be able to accompany the school party on their visits to farms. Here I would like to acknowledge the great assistance that I have received from Mr. A. Voysey of the Kent Education Committee Agricultural Staff.

Now for the actual visits. You will realise that a farm is a place that will undoubtedly interest most children whether from the town or the country. They see the animals and the fields with their various crops. They can watch the seasonal operations of ploughing, sowing and harvesting. They have the advantage of being in the open air.

BUT these visits—and I again stress this point—must be a real part of the life of the school. Only in this case will the full value

be obtained from them. Preparation should be made for them in School and after each visit, the information and material collected must be put in order and notes should be written. The use of a loose-leaf file is very valuable.

THE group of children to visit the farm should be a definite unit within the normal school organisation, for if it is not, the "follow-up" activities and the correlation with other school work will be practically impossible.

THE dates and numbers of the visits to be carried out during the year will vary from district to district. The authors of *Farm and School*, Messrs. Thomas and Voysey, say of this—"The series of visits may start either in the autumn, which is the beginning of the farmer's year, or in the spring, when the tempo of farm life begins to hasten; there are advantages in both arrangements. At least two visits should be made between September and March and at least four between March and September. In addition there might be special visits to catch some particular operation, e.g., sheep shearing, fruit tree washing, etc. It is a mistake to wait until the fine weather comes, both because of the uncertainty of our climate and because such postponement induces a wrong attitude of mind towards work in general and farming in particular. One of the best farm visits that we ever experienced was after a heavy fall of snow, when the organisers looked doubtfully at the weather, yet decided to go. The children realised, as never before, the way in which the animals depended upon the stockman for their comfort, and the need for timely action and forethought on the part of the farmer".

THE authors rightly, however, draw the attention of their readers to the problem of footwear. This is a very real factor when one is considering a visit during the winter months. This factor is even more marked during the war period when parents are experiencing real difficulty with children's boots and shoes.

THE number of children in a farm group should not exceed 20 for one teacher. This will not be possible in many cases because it is dependent on the normal organisation of the school. In Hollingbourne this is possible because we have a small classroom which can accommodate only 20 and therefore we can have one small class unit.

THE farm visit should be carried out with some definite aims in view. For example, on one visit it may be decided to give special attention to the dairy herd at a particular farm. The children beforehand should prepare a series of questions and it should be the aim of teams of, say, three to endeavour to obtain the answers to certain of the questions. Among the questions might be such as these:—

1. How many cows has the farmer got in milk?
2. What breeds of cattle are there in the herd?
3. How are the cows milked?
4. When are they milked?
5. How are they prepared for milking?
6. What happens to the milk after it has been drawn from the cows?
7. Where are the cows kept at night?
8. What foods do the cows get?
9. How old is the oldest cow in the herd?
10. What breed is the bull?
11. What is the bull fed on?
12. How old is the bull?
13. Where are the calves?
14. On what are the calves fed?
15. How much milk is the heaviest milking cow giving per day at the moment?

THESE are only a few of the questions which could be suggested. There are many more given in the book *Farm and School*.

IT should not be the aim to do too much on each visit, and two hours is about the best time to spend at the farm on each occasion. The teacher should always allow

time to follow up some matter which has aroused the interest of the children.

THE teacher should know his way about the farm to be visited and most farmers are very willing to allow him to walk round himself beforehand. Indeed, as I have already noted, many farmers are prepared to go round their farms themselves with the teacher.

It has been my experience that farmers are quite pleased to allow schools to visit their farms. But naturally they expect the children to know how to behave on a farm. The children must be prepared and it is most useful training for them for they should see the reasons why the rules of conduct are laid down. For details, teachers should refer to *The Farm* (Young Farmers' Club Booklet No. 1)—Section 10. Here it is pointed out that all should be quiet and deliberate when in contact with farm livestock. It states that "Good farmers hardly ever run and shout".

As a further example of conduct, we may cite the following. Quietness is most important in the cowsheds at milking time for even when the children are very quiet, the presence of strangers upsets the cows and leads to a reduced yield of milk. We must therefore impress upon the children the way in which they can show their gratitude to the farmer is by their conduct.

On our early visits, the children were introduced to the Mixed Farm and general surveys were made.

In our preparation for the visits, the children had talks on the "Mixed Farm". Here the most useful book proved to be *The Farm*—Young Farmers' Club Booklet No. 1. In the introduction to the book it explains its purpose which it more than adequately achieves:—

"THIS booklet provides notes for those who want to learn the rudiments of farming, and for teachers who intend to introduce into their schools work that will encourage an interest in the farmer's life and surroundings.

These notes were originally compiled by the Agricultural Staff of the Kent Education Committee for use in their schools, and it is by their permission that the material is reproduced in this new form. The booklet does not pretend to be exhaustive, but endeavours to act as a stimulant to further enquiry."

WE learned generally of what we expected to see on the Farm and here the teacher was always guided by his knowledge of the farm which his preliminary visit had enabled him to gain.

WE made a special point of the section in the book in question on "Farm Visits—How to Behave".

THE children, as was to be expected, had considerable experience of farms and this proved valuable in getting the children to talk, which is often difficult in rural areas.

THE route to be taken by the party should be prepared beforehand on the teacher's preliminary visit.

THE children made rough notes on their visit as did the teacher. We also collected specimens of plants and soil in tins which the children brought with them.

Now for our "follow-up" work in school. From the examples of this, teachers will be able to see the lines on which the visits were conducted.

WE made a general survey of our visit. We decided at first to produce one book for the class which would show the scope of the work covered. Each child collected pictures and made notes and the best examples were retained. Later we developed the method by which each child had a loose-leaf file, details of which can be seen. This development followed discussions with H.M. Inspector.

IN the first visit of which the notes are shown in my exhibition, each field was taken as a unit as were the cowsheds and dairy.

THE amount of material to be gathered from one visit will be shown clearly from the points made in the notes.

WE first saw how the land was divided into two classes—grassland and arable land. This point can be made on all early farm visits. We next saw that the grassland serves two purposes. It may be used for grazing or it may be “shut-up” for hay. On the arable land we saw crops of wheat and oats. This gives an opportunity for a discussion on the cereal crops.

THE class used an auger which is a most useful instrument to take on every farm visit. The results found when using this instrument give the data for many discussions on soil. We can first note the difference between topsoil and subsoil. We can see the effect of humus. We can talk of sand and clay. Further possible developments along these lines will be obvious. The auger also enabled us to judge the drainage of the land. We used some “soil indicator” to judge whether the soil was acid. This enabled us to talk on the purpose of lime.

WE had our first introduction to the dairy herd and we noted the various breeds. We had pointed out to us Ayrshires, Friesians, Red Polls and Shorthorns. We noted some of the characteristics of each breed.

LATER the children collected pictures of cattle. Here the weekly publications for farmers are most useful and even in wartime we found them very well illustrated. Many of the class were able to get back numbers from their farmer acquaintances and some very good scrapbooks were produced by several children in their homes and on their own initiative. This pleased me very much as it showed a real interest. It is a good policy to have for school use a copy of a farmer's periodical which the children can see. We have a desk in the classroom for our farming books.

ON the grassland we noted the wild white clover and the rye grass. We talked of the value of farmyard manure and of sulphate

of ammonia. Finally we spent a most interesting time in the cow sheds and the dairy.

THE children collected and mounted appropriate pictures.

TEACHERS will see from this that the amount of material gathered on one visit, even when the children—and the teacher!—are inexperienced, can be great.

THE children soon saw that there were no differences in principle between their soil cultural operations in the garden and those carried out on the farm. They saw that one can dig with a spade or fork on the garden or use the plough and the cultivator on the farm. Seed beds can be prepared either with a rake or with a harrow. The children realised that treading or rolling would consolidate the soil. The seed drill on the farm did the work of the hoe, hand and line on the garden. Early then in his school life can a child realise the purpose of certain operations on the farm.

GRADUALLY has the scope of our work widened. Possibilities are immense and I realise definitely that we at Hollingbourne have made but a beginning, but I have brought with me examples of the children's work for you to see.

SOME time ago we made a survey of the occupations of the people of Hollingbourne. We found that 30 per cent. of the employed people were engaged in agriculture or horticulture. We tabulated our results. We worked out percentages and then constructed a column graph. We were indeed beginning to learn more of the society of which we were members and through agriculture came our incentive. Our History and Geography are linked with agriculture. We try to trace the story of Farming through the ages and we learn more in Geography of how our daily bread is obtained.

I WOULD like to tell you of some recent developments. We were able to visit this year's Kent Young Farmers' Annual Field Contest. About 30 children brought along

3d. a week for eight weeks. The Parents' Association made a grant and we were able to hire a 'bus. In addition to the many contests that we saw, we tested our skill at an Agricultural Knowledge Competition arranged by Mr. Voysey. This prompted us to arrange in our school a similar competition, at which he was to answer our posers. Much of the material that I have brought with me was collected by the children for this competition. How they loved it when they caught him on one or two questions! What was most pleasing to me on this occasion was not the children's enthusiasm in collecting specimens—I expected that—but the way they used reference books—*Weeds of Arable Land*, *Weeds of Grass Land*, the Young Farmers' Club Booklets and others—in order to check the identification of certain plants. Never before have they used an index with such zeal. They saw a purpose in their work and it was therefore worth doing really well.

SCHOOLS, which visit farms in their own district, will soon want to make a wider survey of the Agriculture of their area. They will like to see the changes in the farming as they pass through varying geographical zones. This has already been done in Kent by certain schools and in my own school we hope shortly to take the farming group on a day's outing by 'bus from the North Downs through to the Weald of Kent. Then we will understand the geological features as shown in this transect from Sheppey to the Weald. We fortunately live in a most interesting area and within easy distance from our school we can explore the chalk of the North Downs, the Vale of Holmesdale occupied by the Gault Clay and the sandy Folkestone Beds, the Greensand Ridge and the Plain of the Weald Clay. The children have already been most interested to find that on a farm we frequently visit we have in some fields the gault clay and that in others we find the soil is sandy. They have heard of the farmer's great difficulty in certain fields to plough the gault soils.

Now for a few other possibilities for using agriculture in schools. The keeping of livestock is already carried out in many schools. Poultry, rabbits, pigs, calves, sheep and bees are kept by many enthusiastic young farmers. There are problems to be solved even in peace time, the main one perhaps being the care of stock at the week-ends and in the holidays. But the difficulties can usually be overcome.

THERE is great educational value to be gained from the care of animals, for instance, matters of sex can easily be approached through the care of animals. The fact of reproduction can be introduced through the picture of the doe and her litter of young rabbits or the hen and her chicks or the lambing fold. The early impressions of the children will be happy pleasant ones.

THE Secondary School with enough land to have its own farm may well be considered. Such a school can develop a course suited to the boys and girls who wish to follow careers in some way connected with farming. The influence of the farm and the specialised courses built round it need not be confined to this group for the facts obtained from the farm can be used as teaching material throughout the school. It will be necessary not to specialise at too early an age and the need for a school-leaving certificate for the boy or girl who wishes to follow a career of agricultural science must be borne in mind. Matriculation also is necessary for the intending degree student.

ANOTHER scheme mentioned in *Farm and School* is the purchase of a small country estate for use by schools who could send parties there on day visits, for week-ends and in the holidays. The house and buildings could be adapted to cater for the accommodation of the residential parties. General farm work could be carried out. Local geography and history could be studied, involving as this would many visits. Geology and biology could be taught in the right surroundings. The facilities offered by such an estate would be of great value to many

groups of adult students in their various voluntary organisations.

IN some secondary schools, a weekly visit to a farm is made and the children are instructed in the technique of farm work, themselves carrying out such tasks as grooming horses, milking cows, thatching ricks and tending the sheep. Those who permit this type of instruction do not regard the schools as centres for vocational training. They claim that they are teaching *through* and not only *for* an environment.

THE importance of farming is partly due to the number of ancillary trades that provide employment. The crafts of the blacksmith, saddler, hurdle-maker and weaver depend partly on agriculture for their existence. The forge, the saddler's shop and the homes of other crafts should be visited. In the scheme of handwork in some schools we may find ironwork, hurdle-making, weaving, dyeing and the making of tools.

IN all our schools for senior children, we should encourage the pupils to run their own activities, and for this a Young Farmers' Club will be most valuable. The officers will be the children and they will learn how to conduct meetings. Speaking in public, addressing the chair and keeping to the point need to be learnt as I can testify, following my experience as Clerk to a Parish Council. Writing the minutes and making reports of club meetings for the County Bulletin or the local newspaper are useful duties. Maybe then in the future the village correspondent of the local newspaper will not come and ask the headmaster of the school to write her reports. Accounts will have to

be kept—again valuable training. In many counties there are organised events in which affiliated clubs can take part, such as field contests, with milking, shearing, livestock judging, and other competitions.

THE *Farmers' Weekly* has had competitions for young people on agricultural topics in its paper for several years and the prize winners have had a short course at the Northamptonshire Institute of Agriculture and of this course the editor wrote:—

"We wanted them to gain some understanding of what the farmer sees when he goes about—to understand the pattern of farming. We wanted the children to get an inkling of something more even than this. We wanted them to understand the mutual dependance of plants and crops, of the bugs in the soil, and the pests in the air, and especially their place in the cosmos of life and the society of nature. We felt that if the children could learn to see in this full sense, and to be truly and deeply aware of the world about them—why then, they would in our opinion have learned to sit on a gate and spit intelligently."

WE who introduce Farming into our schools will see it not merely as an applied science but in relation to the art of living. To adopt Tony Weller's words—"As you get vider, you'll get viser. Vidth and visdom, Sammy, always grows together". What a wealth of material we have in our countryside! What a width of experience we can introduce to our children! I am certain that we shall make the most of our opportunities and ensure that the link between school and society is truly forged.

XI Rehabilitation Methods at an R.A.F. Centre

By GROUP-CAPTAIN O'MALLEY

MEDICAL rehabilitation is a process by which an injured man is made as nearly as possible the equivalent of what he was originally—physically, mentally, socially and technically. There are limits to this rehabilitation process and in cases of permanent injury resettlement of the patient and training for readjustment to the new special environment is necessary.

THE first essential for a rehabilitation centre is an atmosphere of cheerfulness and normality. The R.A.F. centres have been removed therefore as far away as possible from hospitals. These suggest too many morbid associations to the patients.

THE policy of the centres is to inculcate into the injured men the desire and will to recover; to put into them the spirit of self-endeavour. The motto is "we help you to help yourselves".

THE first necessity is to induce in the patients a feeling of well-being. A man can have this feeling even though injured; while a person who is organically sound may feel ill. The feeling of well- or ill-being depends mainly on attitudes, e.g., of security, hope, mental satisfaction or of anxiety, frustration, resentment.

THUS every attempt is made to put the injured men into a cheerful, happy atmosphere. The units are run on club lines. Discipline is by positive encouragement and co-operation, and not by negative regulation. The staffs are carefully chosen not only for any specialist knowledge and efficiency, but also for an expansive optimistic cheerful attitude and genial bearing. The staff must be able to give each patient

understanding and enthusiastic treatment. This is of greater importance than buildings.

IN the second place the environment is arranged to put patients into the correct frame of mind from the moment of their arrival at the unit. The usual brusque or impersonal camp reception would be quite out of place. New-comers to the unit are received in a pleasantly furnished library. Books, magazines, newspapers are available for waiting patients. The receptionist is a trained W.A.A.F. N.C.O. with an urbane personality. After interviewing the patients, the receptionist makes definite appointments for each man with the specialists in charge of the various sections of the unit. A programme of treatment is arranged. Also financial and health advice is made available for any men who need it. Each man is made to feel that the staff of the unit are interested in him as a person. In this way the tendency of injured men to project their discontents on to the institution is counter-acted.

EVERY endeavour is made to secure the active, willing co-operation of each man in his own cure. The procedures involved and, as far as possible, the reasons for them are explained to the patients. Any course of treatment is discussed with the man concerned together with the member of the staff who will be responsible for supervising it. This discussion helps to insure confidence in the supervisor on the part of the man concerned, and understanding of the man's case by the supervisor. It also reduces conflicts due to misinterpretation of instructions to a minimum.

INDIVIDUAL initiative and choice is encouraged, particularly in the case of

fighter-pilot officers. These men are usually individualists in temperament and attitude. Discipline is as free as possible. Each man is allowed to wear what clothes he fancies; uniform is *de rigueur* only at dinner. The restoration of self-feeling is an essential factor in rehabilitation.

METHODS EMPLOYED

To understand the reasons for the rehabilitation methods used, it is necessary first to realise some of the injured men's difficulties. The injuries include burns, broken limbs, even fractured spines. Many of the men may have had the injured part immobilised in plaster for a considerable time. When the plaster is removed several contingencies may arise:—

- (a) The man may have forgotten how to use the muscles;
- (b) The injured part may be painful to use, and on this account the patient will avoid using it if he can;
- (c) The physical injury may be accompanied by nervous shock, loss of self-confidence, even in some cases by a resistance to recovery. In these cases the men show apathy and inertia.

THE mental aspect of rehabilitation is encouraged by the conditions already described. In addition, during the actual treatment mass-suggestion is used. Each patient works with a group of others all with the same type of injury. Some of these men are already on the way to recovery and their example is an encouraging sign that recovery is possible. Any new rehabilitation unit needs some partially-recovered patients to give it a start.

To overcome the effects of disuse, physiotherapists work on the patients inducing local muscular activity and restoring normal circulation.

WHERE the power of movement has been lost temporarily, two general methods are used. The men may have a muscular re-education by means of special tuition, in

some cases assisted by the use of apparatus. Secondly, particularly if some inhibition is suspected, an attempt is made to put the patient into a situation in which he must act on an instinctive level. One convenient way of doing this is to put the man into the swimming bath. In that case, the fear of sinking leads to an instinctive effort to keep afloat. Energy reserves are called upon. The patient makes a desperate effort, and for the moment *forgets his injury*, and his other fears and worries. When movement is established by this means, then either the man is convinced that he can use the limb and has his confidence in his power restored; or he finds it impossible to persuade himself, or the staff, any longer, that he is incapable of movement.

SWIMMING is most valuable also since it is (a) a free exercise which requires the co-ordinated efforts of the whole body; and (b) it is a vigorous exercise which can be carried on while the weight of the body is borne completely by the water. This latter advantage enables many men with broken bones to get exercise without having to put any weight upon the injured limb. Cycling is a good second-best exercise to swimming for the same reason—the bulk of the patient's weight is borne by the bicycle, while at the same time he must keep going to prevent himself from falling off.

In all cases, it is preferable to make an indirect rather than direct approach to the problem of therapeutic exercise. *Interesting purposeful activity* is more valuable than routine exercises and the use of apparatus. Therefore games and occupational handwork are encouraged. The fact that the man is more interested takes his attention from his injury and general condition and focuses it upon his objective. This helps to remove self-pity. The interest, also, releases reserves of energy. The man puts more of himself into the exercise. For example, a patient who is interested in carpentry will use the same set of muscles in sawing or planing

as he would in a routine exercise or during a spell on some special apparatus. But with an objective in view, he will play, or saw, or plane with greater concentration and for a longer time, and without boredom, and the dislike which accompanies it.

It is interesting to find that games and occupational therapy are more successful in the case of the more intelligent patients. They are more imaginative and more inventive, and have therefore greater interest in some sort of creative activity. Moreover, they are far more quickly bored by routine exercises. On the other hand, with the less intelligent and imaginative patients, the routine exercises and apparatus work are essential.

INCIDENTALLY, felling and sawing up trees is a most useful activity for some of the more aggressive patients, particularly if they have any latent hates or sadistic tendencies. They can work off their hates and aggressions on the trunks of the trees and may find much satisfaction and no little emotional release, and relief in doing so. Rowing, also, has been found a useful exercise.

POTTERY is an excellent pastime for restoring the use of damaged hands.

OCCUPATIONAL therapy has other advantages. It introduces vocational interests, and a man may hasten his recovery from his injuries and at the same time get back some of his proficiency at his own skilled job. To make the occupational work as realistic, and therefore as purposeful and interesting as possible, the workshops attached to the unit were equipped for dealing with useful war work, e.g., aero-engine repairs.

IN the work of rehabilitation much importance is attached to intellectual stimulation and an interesting social life. For the former, talks, exhibitions, visits to places of interest, Brains Trusts, etc., are organised. For social recreation, dancing is most valuable. The presence of some cheerful good-looking young women, the music, and the opportunity to dance make the men *want* to discard their crutches, forget their temporary disability and act normally again. The men thus become less self conscious and project their thoughts outside of themselves and their problems.

XII Visual Education

(a) *THE ISOTYPE SYSTEM OF VISUAL EDUCATION*

By OTTO NEURATH

I

PURPOSE OF VISUAL EDUCATION

ON the whole, museums and similar exhibitions which are supposed to have a didactic purpose, have been badly arranged. They have presented a chaotic, indigestible experience.

APART from the actual arrangement, particularly sequence, of the exhibits, explanatory notes are often in small type,

difficult or impossible to read at first glance, and placed in inconspicuous positions which the casual visitor can quite easily overlook.

IN fact, museums have not been arranged for the convenience of visitors. The explanation for this peculiarity can be found in former social conditions and attitudes. Museums and collections of artistic products were originally private collections intended for the edification and greater glory of the

wealthy collector, not for the education or edification of the public. This attitude has persisted, even when a museum has become a public institution. It has been arranged as a private hunting ground of the Director and his assistants, and of a few selected students. This exclusive attitude is exemplified also in the hours of opening. These are, usually, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. when ordinary people are at work. If museums and exhibitions are to fulfil their true function as institutions of education they must be open from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. when the majority of the public are able to visit them.

DR. NEURATH began, in the first place, to consider the problem of visual education from this consideration of the public function of exhibitions and museums. How could they be made attractive to the man in the street, the passer-by. Some method of display was necessary which would enable the casual observer to grasp the significance of individual objects or of a set of exhibits at a glance. For this purpose it is desirable to consider the display from the point of view of the consumer (or victim) and not from that of the Director and specially trained students.

II

FROM a consideration of the needs of the general public it is but a short step to a consideration of the difficulties and needs of children both in school and outside.

It is necessary to ask and to find out what children *want* to see and understand. Thus a second purpose of visual education is to give children in a stimulating, interesting manner what they need to know but cannot produce for themselves. One must note in this connection the imperfections of the child's own attempts to produce visual material for himself owing to the immaturity and lack of training of his executive powers.

WESTERN education has been based upon the mediæval needs and traditions of an upper class. The media have been almost

exclusively reading and writing. Children have been conditioned to respond to printed or written words. Thus, traditional textbooks have been devoid of any kind of visual illustrations. We need to change that tradition. In fact, for younger children we should reverse the situation and consider books as examples of visual material with a minimum of text. Many children in whom adequate reading ability develops late are handicapped continually by this lack of ability to respond to conventional verbal symbols. Yet they can respond to pictorial stimuli.

THE methods of visual education have a much wider application, nowadays, notably in the development of illiterate primitive communities and in the education of semi-literate colonial communities in such matters as nutrition, hygiene, public health and modern agriculture. It is extremely difficult to present modern scientific knowledge and methods of disease control in the native languages since they are inseparable from traditional concepts of magic. Pictorial methods supply a common ground between the technical administrations and field officers and the native populations.

THE practical importance of this aspect of education is very great in the case of European countries with colonial interests, e.g., Great Britain and Holland.

THE greatest possible advantages offered by pictorial material cannot be secured, however, unless pupils are trained in the comprehension of pictorial material. The traditional verbal methods of presentation in schools tend to destroy the power of responding quickly and accurately to pictorial media, without, at the same time, providing an alternative medium through which the majority of people can secure an adequate grasp of the complex facts and relations of contemporary civilisation. The advantages of familiarity with a pictorial media have been demonstrated in the case of Mexicans and other peoples accustomed to hieroglyphic scripts. They can interpret isotype

visual material easily. It seems obvious, therefore, that if pictorial methods of presenting facts and relationships are to be fully productive of understanding, some system of conventional pictorial signs, in fact a pictorial alphabet, is necessary. Such a system is provided by the Isotype symbols.

III

DR. NEURATH then described the principles according to which the Isotype "notation" has been evolved, and the methods used in producing self-explanatory diagrams.

Two main objectives are kept in view.

In the first place everything is presented as simply as possible. The pictorial material is stripped of all unnecessary detail, e.g., light and shade, colours which have no significance, etc. Only such details as emphasise what is significant for the purpose in view are retained, and these are organised so that their association with the idea or argument is as direct and obvious as possible. The speaker showed by a blackboard illustration how a technical process (e.g., the immobilisation of the diseased regions of a human lung in the treatment of tuberculosis) could be presented vividly by what is really a dynamic diagram.

ARISING from this he went on to emphasise the possibility and the advantage of *visual arguments*, i.e., logical sequences presented in visual media instead of verbal propositions.

SECONDLY, in presenting social statistics, for example, the Isotype symbols are conventionalised pictures of the commodities involved in the arguments. Statistics about ships, houses, wheat, shoes, population, unemployment, etc., are couched in terms of conventionalised representations of ships,

houses, wheat, etc. Dr. Neurath claimed that, by this method, laymen untrained in the interpretation of verbal and mathematical arguments, could grasp more quickly and *remember more accurately and for a longer time* the facts and relations necessary for a practical working knowledge of present-day government and industry. In this connection, the speaker pointed out that the majority of citizens, as distinct from the professional experts, spend a considerable part of their energy and time in the pursuit of a livelihood. They have to get the knowledge they need as citizens and voters outside of their working hours when they are already tired, and find the intellectual exercise difficult.

DURING the second half of this session, Dr. Neurath showed a series of lantern slides which illustrated the use of Isotype symbols and methods.

In the discussion which followed an interesting point was raised which enabled Dr. Neurath to define the function of the Isotype method. A member of the audience described how he had used Isotype material to present economic statistics to a group of sixth form boys. These boys, however, preferred the more usual methods of verbal argument, histogram and graph.

DR. NEURATH said that the Isotype material was not intended as a medium for specialist studies. At that level statistical data must be dealt with by logical and mathematical procedures, and this was the normal medium for the trained student. Isotype material, on the other hand, although it could be used to great advantage as a means of illustrating technical processes visually, was intended primarily as an educative device for the non-specialist.

(b) THE USE OF FILMSTRIP

By CONRAD RAWNSLEY

I SHALL have to walk delicately, with so many teachers present, for my terms of reference imply entering on that most

controversial ground—how should a given instrument be used in the classroom. Let's face it; no two teachers will agree. How

often after a demonstration of teaching technique at such a conference as this has one heard the indignant chorus, "It's very interesting to learn how Mr. So-and-So teaches but it's not the way I do it".

THERE is a notable Geographer and exponent of the cinematograph in education who will never try to teach with a film until he has seen it through 20 or 30 times himself. On the other hand one has heard the story of the two teachers who each thinking the other was carrying on left during the film-show by opposite doors to smoke a cigarette. The answer probably is that as regards teaching there are any number of ways of doing the job correctly. It all depends upon two main factors—the personality and method of the teacher. Personality gets away with almost anything. Method is perhaps the poor man's substitute. But if it is properly thought out, first in broad terms and then in detail, it will achieve results. An Art teacher advocates looking at the landscape upside down when painting a picture. I am not recommending that the class should stand on their heads when using a film strip but if standing on their heads is an essential part of the teacher's scheme it may achieve equally beneficial results.

THERE is another point. In America we are told almost every classroom is now equipped with a film strip projector. There are said to be 350,000 in constant use. The state of affairs here is rather different. I doubt if there are yet 10 per cent. of the schools equipped in spite of the efforts of the Ministry and of certain Local Authorities and Technical Colleges. True the Navy has been using film strips extensively for the greater part of the war and the other services are now following suit, but this is instruction, a very different problem, as I shall readily demonstrate after this paper. I doubt if there is yet enough experience in the use of film strip in general education for one to suggest a successful technique. On the whole I think it would be better to examine

the possibilities of the device and to suggest ways in which it might prove useful.

THE film strip projector is nothing more nor less than the modern version of the magic lantern. But the pictures instead of being reproduced on heavy breakable and comparatively costly glass slides are recorded on standard 35 mm. cinematograph film and are shown in a handy little instrument with a ratchet device which enables you to "flick" from picture to picture with scarcely any effort at all.

ANY number of pictures may be incorporated in the film strip. 12 pictures occupy one foot of film. A convenient length is eight feet which, allowing for the 9 inch. lead in and out, will contain nearly eighty frames. Such a strip is supplied in a small canister for transit and storage which will fit into the waistcoat pocket or can be sent through the post in a cardboard tube or a linen bag. The label on the lid of the container will carry a description of the contents and the reference number. A cabinet with sliding trays and partitions is a practical way to store a library of the strips in their containers.

FILM strips may embody letter-press, drawings, diagrams, pictorial statistics, cartoons and photographs of scenes, objects or historical illustrations. As regards these last, woodcuts, steel or copper-plate engravings, mezzotints, lithographs and aquatints are the most satisfactorily reproduced. Early impressions are better than later ones in which, particularly in the case of engravings, there is trouble in the shaded portions due to the lines tending to merge into one another. Any illustration by a modern process which involves a screen does not, unfortunately, give very good results, as the screen is enormously magnified in projection and a loss of definition occurs.

WHEN selecting material for a film strip it must be remembered that the excellence of the finished product will depend upon the quality of the originals which can only rarely be improved by touching-up in the technical

processes of recording. It is also advisable to consult a specialist when preparing or selecting diagrams, for the amount of detail, the proportion of dark colours to light, the thickness of lines, the size and type of lettering and consequently the amount of letter-press which can to advantage be included are all matters in which tests and experience are the only guide.

In general it may be taken that a full frame of letter-press should not contain more than 30 to 35 words and if captions are required under the pictures, one line of not more than 8 words is the maximum advisable. Tests prove that Sans or Erbar are the best types to use, that is to say types which are even in thickness throughout the formation of the letters. Condensed types are to be avoided. White lettering on black background is easier to read and less trying to the eyes than the reverse. As far as possible screen proportion should be adhered to when selecting from equally satisfactory alternative illustrations, or preparing diagrams, in order that the full space available shall be used. This is 3 : 4 in the case of so-called "single frame" or 2 : 3 in the case of "double frame". The "single frame" is a picture measuring 18 mm. x 24 mm. which is placed transversely on the celluloid exactly as in standard motion picture practice. The "double frame" is the size of picture taken by the miniature camera of Leica or Contax type. It measures 24 mm. x 36 mm. and is placed longitudinally on the celluloid. Some claim advantages for the "double frame" but these are questionable and are offset by serious disadvantages which will mediate against its general adoption for the commercial product.

FILM strip may be in monochrome or colour and a number of alternative colour systems are available. The combination of monochrome and colour is, however, not yet entirely satisfactory since the monochrome pictures are inclined to favour a uniform tinge of pink or mauve in the technical processes of photography. There are psycho-

logical considerations also which prescribe the inadvisability of combining monochrome with colour in a given strip.

THE cost of producing film strips is almost entirely confined to the preparation of the original negative. In this they differ from film in which the printing of copies and the price of the stock used in the distribution copy is a material consideration. Once the negative of the film strip has been made, copies can be turned out at the rate of 60 ft. per minute on the continuous printing machines of the motion-picture laboratories. To take an example, let us suppose that material for a film strip of 50 frames has been assembled ready to be recorded. The cost of producing the print will be approximately 1s. 6d., or 3s. with Tax, assuming that under 12 copies are ordered at the same time. If a larger number of copies is ordered, shall we say 100, the cost will drop to just over 1s., or 2s. with Tax, per copy.

THE corresponding costs in colour vary slightly between the different processes but may in general be taken as approximately three times. Also in colour the making of the master negative is, particularly in some processes, a material consideration and may cost as much as £15.

THE cost of producing the material of the original negative will be as variable as that of producing a book. It depends upon the amount of factual and illustration research, upon the quantity of original art work or draughtsmanship involved, upon the models which have to be built or the scenes which have to be staged, upon the number of photographs which have to be taken in the studio or in the field, upon the difficulties inherent in recovering those photographs, upon the copyright fees payable for reproduction, and upon the amount of letter-press or text which it is desired to incorporate.

WHEN a commercial firm prices a given film strip the production of which they have entirely financed, they have to consider what is the potential distribution and the

scale of the likely demand, because the cost of production must obviously be farmed out over the number of copies sold. As to the price of the film strip projector, it will be approximately either £15 to £20 or £30 to £40 depending upon the operation of the 100 per cent. tax which at present fetters the development of all visual or graphic materials and apparatus.

THE research on one of our current projects has been proceeding for more than 12 months. Apart from the salaries of the staff engaged upon it, one has to take into account the visits of our research workers to libraries, museums and other sites in remote parts of the country. Over 2,500 circulars have gone out in connection with this project seeking for relevant information, and the resulting correspondence has been commensurate. Having traced the desired object, situation or historical print, it is then necessary to make arrangements for its photography which may have to be done on the spot. The administration on such a project becomes an important charge upon the finished product.

I EMPHASISE these points because whenever a new gadget makes its debut on the educational market the first question of the thrifty teacher is, what does it cost? The film strip projector is not a device which will produce the traditional pearl of wisdom simply by turning a knob. The wishful thinkers are disappointed. Never mind—education by inoculation is possibly a convenience of the future but at present one has always to remember that the educational value of a given visual aid is in direct proportion to the thought and research and the excellence of the material that have been put into it.

I AM often asked what is a suitable number of pictures for a strip. The answer is that the optimum length depends not upon the number of pictures but upon such questions as:—

Do you want it for a lecture or a lesson?

What is the length of your lecture or period?

How long do you want to allot to the showing of the strip and how long to the subsequent discussion?

What subject and aspect of the subject are you dealing with?

What intelligence level or age group are you aiming at?

In what detail do you plan to treat the matter?

How far does the subject lend itself to visual or graphic interpretation?

How much letter-press do you wish to include?

and so on. Speaking in very general terms a film strip which can be shown at the registration speed of the slowest member of the class in x minutes can be used for a lesson lasting $6x$ minutes but even this perhaps is too sweeping a statement.

I WISH I had more time to project different types of strip for I begin already to feel the need of examples to show what I mean. The guiding principle in production of any material for visual education—may I lump these together under the general term “graphics”—is that they should be *visual*.

By that I mean:—

1st that the important details shall be clearly visible. We don't want “If you look hard enough you can just see down in the bottom left hand corner, etc., etc.”

2nd that everything that is relevant, and that can be shown, is shown. Don't let's have, “You see that thing in the foreground? It's a pity it gets in the way like that because if it wasn't there you would be able to see what I mean . . .”

3rd that whatever is shown is shown from the best point of view or in the best way for its form or function to be readily understood. Not—“It's not really a very good picture or diagram—it doesn't really explain

the thing—switch on the light and I'll draw it on the board."

- 4th that the question of whether it can be shown best with a sketch or a photograph or a diagram shall be carefully considered and further the technique used in presenting the thing by any of these methods. Not—"Why the devil are they using a diagram when a photo of the thing would do the job?"

First you have to decide what you want to show. Then why you want to show it. Next how to show it most clearly and finally what is irrelevant or unimportant and what should stand out and lay first claim on the attention. There is nothing magical or mysterious about presenting things graphically. It is mostly a matter of plain logic and commonsense. An analytical mind is all that is required and one which is able to sort the essentials from the non-essentials.

SUCH a device, long known to the film-maker, as the general view followed by varying degrees of close-up, or that practised by the advertising photographer of fading by means of mask and airbrush, all the background or unimportant detail so as to bring out the object on which attention is to be focussed into bold relief and yet to show its relation to its surroundings—these are dodges which will often prove useful. Simplicity and economy of detail are important in film strip production. It is better to err on the side of omission rather than to crowd the canvas with a maze of detail which distracts the eye from the essentials and results in a blurred mental image.

I AM sure that we have to study thoroughly the psychological problems involved in visual education—particularly in relation to children—before we can hope to be infallibly successful in the selection, preparation and arrangement of these things. It is of interest in this connection to note the experience of the Navy which has been particularly pro-

gressive during the war. The trials of new entries which established the figure of some 30 per cent. better results obtained by visual methods of instruction, were carried out at the Training Establishment known as H.M.S. Raleigh. The psychologists who were in charge of the trials, and had a pretty big finger in that pie, claimed that by their intelligence tests conducted on visual lines they were not only able to establish the intelligence level but could discern officer-like qualities. They maintained that the 5 per cent. of candidates authorised to be selected for training as officers could be more reliably chosen by their methods. As time went on these gentlemen became more and more powerful and towards the end tended to rule the roost. There is perhaps a lesson and a warning to be derived from this. The psychologist is another useful tool of the teacher and the educationist, but we must not let him get too bumptious.

REVERTING to the question of how many pictures, we are probably all of us familiar with the phenomenon of amnesia induced by film. Within an hour or so of leaving the cinema and returning to civilisation we have forgotten the delectable ladies, the tense situations and high adventures of our heroes and heroines and their names and exploits fade as in a dream. I have to ask those gentlemen we mentioned earlier to explain but perhaps we can make a guess. The events and scenes, the faces and the actions of the film follow one another in such a rapid and restless stream that each fresh impression effaces or dulls the ones which went before. And so at the end, and too often, our minds are left with a blurred and anarchic medley of images, and confusion rather than comprehension is the answer. The psychologist will tell you that for registration you need stimulus to be administered with discretion. The film chucks the stuff at us like a hose-pipe. Is it any wonder that it leaves us mentally gasping or else in a state of coma having simply given up the effort to assimilate?

WHAT of the film strip? I do not want at this point to examine its advantages and disadvantages in relation to film but it is certainly a more flexible instrument than the educational film as we know it to-day. You can hold the picture on the screen as long as you wish. You can skip several and show selected ones only. You can reverse and go back to an earlier one. You can flick quickly backwards and forwards between one and another and thus effect a comparison. You can show slow motion in strip cartoon technique or in successive photographs exposed at periods of seconds, minutes, hours days or weeks or cut frames out of a motion-picture record at intervals. These are certainly a few advantages, but I wish to mention them here only from the point of view of content or the question how many pictures.

OBVIOUSLY with such flexibility at your disposal at such small comparative cost it would be idle to ignore the possibilities. Economy of content being the password, split up the information you wish to convey into as many components as is reasonable without losing the sense of their relationship. Thus one picture when carefully analysed in this sense may become 5 or even 10 pictures in the film strip and since the explanation is now graphic fewer words will be needed and 10 pictures will take less time to show than one. The pictures will be better assimilated, the inferences more thoroughly understood, and therefore retained for a longer period.

VARIATIONS of a theme, and repetition are two other devices in the production of the film strip which will often be found useful. Suppose you are trying to give an impression of, shall we say, conditions in a coal mine, a dozen pictures of miners working with hand picks at the coal face in all sorts of positions and thicknesses of seam will be more effective than one, though most of the talking will probably be done on the first picture, and the succeeding ones will be in the nature of a montage, to use the jargon of the film. Then suppose you have a set of statistics,

say British Railway Development in the 19th century, you want to show miles of track, passengers carried, capital invested and perhaps a graph to illustrate the rise and fall with the two peaks, the first and second railway manias. A suitable film strip sequence might be as follows:—

1st frame — Title — "British Railway Development".

2nd frame—Pictograph of miles of track.

3rd frame — Pictograph of passengers carried.

4th frame—Pictograph of capital invested.

5th frame—Graph of capital invested to demonstrate the trend and the manias.

Now suppose for the sake of argument that it is important to show the relationship between these statistics—you therefore reproduce them all upon the 6th frame assuming that the frame will not be too crowded by so doing. Thus you effect the combination for comparison and synthesis (I think that is the word favoured at these conferences) and you drive home the lesson by repetition.

ALL this goes to show that the content of the film strip is dependent mainly upon the intelligence level of the audience, upon the detail with which you desire to penetrate the subject, and upon the time you have to do it in. There is no infallible rule of thumb upon which the manufacturer can proceed. The experience he gains by trial and error and by keeping close contact with the man who has to do the teaching job—these are the only sure guides.

THIS brings me to the matter of co-ordination between manufacturer and consumer. In the past there has not been a proper liaison between the producer of the materials and apparatus of education, and the teacher. The results of this are apparent on every hand. Now that juggling the curriculum has been tried *ad nauseum* without producing the hoped-for results, the emphasis is rightly

shifting to method.* The close co-operation of teachers, administrators, psychologists and manufacturers now becomes of paramount importance. Why not a department of Educational Research in every University, supported by State grants since this is a matter of national moment, not by commercial enterprise seeking guidance on long-term policies of publicity.

It is one of our principal objects to maintain close contact with the teachers at every level and to ensure by this means and through practical tests that the graphics and the apparatus we produce shall be of real use. We conduct such tests from time to time both at our headquarters and in schools with classes of boys and girls in order that we may be able to study at first hand the way in which teachers make use of our products and the effect of them upon the students. In addition every fresh contact is encouraged to complete a detailed questionnaire. The analysis of these which is constantly proceeding, helps us to provide a useful programme and to keep abreast of teachers' requirements and opinions.

THE interest in visual or graphic methods has flared up again during these last years, partly due perhaps to the atmosphere of war in which old shibboleths are uprooted and the spirit of revolution is abroad—partly due to the cumulative effect of a generation of cinema-going which has caused us sub-consciously to find again the faculty of seeing, partly due to the almost infinite number of cheaper and better illustrated periodicals—and perhaps also to a deep-rooted despair at the failure of our educational system to develop that sense of social responsibility and of true values which is its prime duty to instil and nourish—a despair which makes us ready to try any new experiment.

AGAIN the achievements in the Services and in industry during the war by use of

* It is as if we had tumbled to it that no matter what you teach, if you teach it in the wrong way, you will surely achieve the wrong result.

graphic methods of instruction has attracted the attention of the educational world.

No body of material yet exists, however, for general education and therefore in order to gain the widest experience it is our intention to cover in the course of each year's programme the whole range of the curriculum thus providing something on which to base our trials and those of teachers, in every subject.

A PROGRAMME committee is being assembled which will meet from time to time to study the analysis of the completed questionnaires and the experience gained to date. At these meetings the programme will be settled in general terms in such a way as to ensure that the curriculum is satisfactorily provided for in the different age groups and types of schools. The Committee includes the General Editors or Chairmen of Sub-Committees appointed to supervise production under the various subject headings.

WHILE it is necessary to provide a comprehensive programme of standard materials, many teachers will prefer to have variations of our graphics to suit their own requirements, or specially prepared film strips for example to their own design. In order to meet this we undertake to edit our standard products in consideration of a purely nominal fee, in accordance with teachers' instructions. This will provide in course of time a good range of alternative versions of a given theme from which they will be able to select that nearest to their own needs. Thus the flexibility in our service which is essential to this type of work will, we hope, be achieved.

In addition we undertake to produce graphics specifically to the design of teachers for which they themselves undertake the research and furnish the pictures, diagrams and so on. These are worked up into finished products of the necessary standard by our staff of artists, draughtsmen and photographers. A nominal fee only is charged for such work on the understanding that the

author surrenders copyright, which is vested henceforth in the Company and the finished product is included in our general catalogue. We also provide guarantee and maintenance service for our projection equipment and instruction in its use.

THIS service I have described and the standard we have set ourselves can, of course, only be maintained if we have the confidence and support of educationists, administrators and teachers, for we are a family concern without underlying secondary interests in Visual Education. We are not for example the hirelings of a high pressure advertising firm or of a manufacturer with a long-term programme of publicity who sees in the younger generation his potential customers of to-morrow. Therefore we cannot proceed indefinitely without your help. If you all hold back until you see what someone else is doing about it, until prices of materials and cost of labour have reached some hypothetical stabilisation, until some new Government has devised a magic formula for dissolving the national debt and therefore abolishing taxes—or for any other reason, we shall not be there to serve you any more. On our side we are doing our best to increase output and to cover the widest range of subjects. Fifty will be available within six months and these have been in course of planning and preparation for periods up to eighteen months.

I AM allowed to announce our new "History of Education in England" and this seems the right place to do so. It deals with every important aspect of education from the 10th century to the present. It will be published shortly as a textbook of 500 or 600 pages without illustrations but with constant reference to the film strips, pictographic charts, diagrams and so forth which are being produced in parallel. It possesses a final chapter on the modern rebirth of visual or graphic method and this will cover such subjects as the Local Study or Regional Survey, visits to museums and places of interest, the use of models, fieldwork in

Biology and School Broadcasting, including Television, besides the main forms of presenting information visually—namely, films, film strips, broadsheets, postcard illustrations, posters, pictographs, symbolic diagrams, and so on. The emphasis throughout the book is upon method and it does not concern itself except in passing with legislation which never reached the Statute Book or was not put into effect.

THE latest history which can lay any claim to being comprehensive is that of de Montmorency, *The Progress of Education in England*, published in 1904 and re-issued in 1912. This is now largely obsolete and deals with the subject from a political and legal point of view, now no longer appropriate to modern educational theory.

THE publication of our History of Education and its accompanying Graphic Materials is appropriate at this time in view of the expansion in the school system. While in normal times approximately 10,000 teachers a year pass through the training colleges, owing to the war and to the measures introduced by the New Education Act, it has become necessary in the course of the next three years to train approximately 120,000 teachers. We therefore hope that our book will meet a good reception and prove useful.

I HAVE already mentioned the gulf that has existed in the past between what is wanted by teachers and what is available commercially. It is idle to ignore this and the root of the trouble has been a lack of understanding on the part of the manufacturer for the problems of the teacher, and a lack of co-operation between them. In order to overcome this, it was necessary, we felt, as a first step, that the staff and administration of our enterprise should be familiar with teachers' problems and in order to understand the present to have studied the past. The *History of Education* has been compiled entirely by our Research Department. It has been a team-job and in its preparation we feel we have laid the foundation for our

study of modern educational problems which it is our duty and interest to pursue.

I HAVE done the best I can to fulfil the task allotted—that is to discuss some of the possibilities of the film strip in teaching, by pointing out its intrinsic merits and its limitations and by trying to show with examples from our own small experience how much thought and research and co-operation is needed to bring about an instrument which will be really useful.

BEFORE I leave the subject, however, I want to call attention to a very present pitfall which we must at all costs avoid. I refer to the conception that education is something that can be done with a gadget. The inventor will claim it, the manufacturer will endorse it, the advertiser will boost it and the gullible teacher (of which I am afraid there are a few) will swallow it.

HOWEVER good the instrument may be, however much thought and research and technical excellence have gone into its production, it remains only the teacher who can teach. Visual Education may help both him and the pupil alike, the one by explaining better than words, the other by making learning an exciting and interesting affair, which it ought to be, and both by providing a basis of common and near-concrete experience, stimulating questions and discussion and bringing into the classroom that co-operative spirit and that encouragement to the development of individual character which for so long in English education we have fostered but almost entirely confined to the playing field.

STRAWS in the wind—this perennial excitement, this mania for the gadget—for the sake of gadgets. It is an unhealthy symptom. The gadget is the graven image of the 20th century. We set it up and bow down to it and, hey presto!—our children will become good citizens.

I AM a manufacturer of teaching aids, and therefore I have to make the apparatus. It is efficient, of course—I have seen to that.

But the perennial folly of the gadget fiend who is in our midst in no uncertain strength, never ceases to provoke me. So irrational is he that we find we have to spend more time answering enquiries and discussing the apparatus than we do the material which is to be shown by its means to the children. There is a job to be done. Of course you must have the right tools and they must be as well-designed and as efficient as modern technology and engineering can make them. But they are only a means to an end. It is the end that matters. However, this is something I want to return to later.

THE teacher is no less a craftsman than the cabinet maker. You would not expect the cabinet maker to make you a suite of furniture with a pair of pliers. In order to turn out a finished job he must be equipped with a variety of tools each of which is designed for a particular purpose. Then, no less the teacher. The film strip is possibly a useful tool in his hands provided he studies it and its effect upon his pupils and thinks out carefully how to use it to best advantage. But it is only one tool. There are others and each of them has a function, each can do part of the job better than the rest. Each has merits. Each has limitations. We have to enquire what these are and then turn them to good account, and it will be found that since the various tools are complementary they must be co-ordinated in the course of manufacture. Otherwise you will find that the man who makes, say, pictographs, will be trying to overcome the limitations of his medium by advocating its use for purposes and in circumstances for which it is quite unsuited. We make all the tools and we try to fit them into the jigsaw to the best of our ability with limited experience. We do not therefore have to dispense a magic formula.

ONE further point which is essential to any craft or technique. You must have the tools you need at hand. The burst pipe stays put while the plumber goes back for his spanner but the interest, the attention,

the continuity of thought, the method, have faded away while the teacher is out borrowing the gadget from another classroom or if there is a long pilgrimage to a room fitted with blackout, or if the film or whatever it is does not arrive from the lending library in time. Therefore everything the teacher needs must be at his elbow, so that with the minimum of disturbance to the progress of his lesson he can call into service any of the apparatus or material which modern science and invention puts at his disposal.

LASTLY, let us take a somewhat broader view of what is happening in education to-day. Let us get behind the smoke screen and see which way our ship is bound, and then perhaps we shall be better able to judge what part visual method (and of course our friend the film strip) may play in the future. Do you mind if I go back to ancient Greece for a moment?

PLATO's thoughts were always concerned with ultimate values, his ideal education was primarily a training in values—what to believe about life, how it should be lived, what would be the perfect State and how it should be created. He held views on education far in advance of his time. Indeed it has taken us 2,000 years to reach the same conclusions on such matters as nursery schools, equal opportunities for men and women, compulsory schooling for children, further education, and so forth. All these things are advocated in *The Laws* and in *The Republic*.

PLATO had a clean slate, however, The foundation of the State in which he lived was slave labour. There were no domestic problems. His youths and maidens did not have to compete for jobs at an age when they were scarcely fledged. He could safely come in on the side of a Ministry of Education because he would not have to reckon with it. There was no educational system. Systems are the devil. Once started they stop thinking and continue by their own momentum. They lose sight of the goal for the achievement of which they came into

being. And thus instead of school days being a part of life and education a process of living in which the child is an active agent developing all the time his faculties and character, what have we in fact achieved? A kind of sombre shadow falls across the road, beginning in sunshine with childhood, and still flecked at intervals with brighter moments—holidays—home influence.

THE child has become a receptacle for information—a passive partner in the process. The goal is the examination—the passport to the job. Life does not begin again till after it. The school is a place apart, a mere preparation for life. As much knowledge must therefore be rammed in as time will permit so as to give the child a good start. Does it? I think not. There is an aimlessness, a want of inspiration, a sense of disillusionment in adolescence, a searching without knowing for what, which has never been so brought home to me as when interviewing candidates for higher rating both before and during the war.

THE very reckless abandon with which our young men and women have thrown themselves into the fight, and which to the wondering world has proved the English are not decadent, is not something on which we can complacently congratulate ourselves. There is a symptom here again of a disease which, if it is not stopped, will ravage our civilisation. Why? A war. Certainly an adventure. Patriotism—perhaps. But mainly a *raison d'être*. An aim, a direction. No matter that it is only for a moment—an hour—a day. To-morrow we die. But now at last there is a meaning in our life.

ALAS, a philosophy of despair—a forlorn awakening for the survivors. Only creative ends can satisfy man's restless spirit. Where there is no vision the people perish. Surely absence of that broad horizon of the mind marks the failure of our education. It is producing men and women who can make a living, but who do not know what to live for. Something is missing here. Perhaps

it is Plato's sense of ultimate values—a sense of what is good in morals, in art, in the intellectual as well as the material bases of civilisation.

In an era of science and invention, material progress has out-stripped the intellectual and we have come to a dangerous pass in which the common man can be led or driven almost anywhere—by any brigand who earnestly believes in brigandage for example. Thus Russia and Germany, Japan and Italy and Spain. Mass psychology is the problem of our age. Education is the only key to its solution.

SOMETHING must be done soon, however, for science is like guinea pigs—each fresh invention breeds a litter of others. The horizon seems black enough, but one discerns a glimmer of the dawn. More time for teaching and for learning. More money. Brighter better schools and playing fields. Education in Art. And the very science which threatens the foundations of our world gives us television and speedier and cheaper travel and film strips if you like.

THIS is not a case of the sublime to the ridiculous for physics and economics are at the root of things. Sir Lawrence Bragg said in a postscript in February, 1944: "The effect of the new technical achievements, easy communication, plentiful power, command over materials, is to give the world a higher type of nervous system, knitting it into a more closely linked up and interdependent whole. It is clear, of course, that as this more closely linked world is a more sensitive organism, and therefore possibly more politically unstable, the new scientific achievement must be matched by a growth in political sanity. But it must be remembered that the highest flights of human thought and action in religion, ethics, literature or art are grafted upon and draw their strength from the humble roots of man's command over nature". Cheaper and faster

travel, television films and film-strips and all the apparatus of visual education now bring the study of man and nature and their works within the reach of man. The principle was accepted long ago. It did not need a Pope to tell us that the proper study of mankind is man, a Bacon to persuade us to study nature. But now at last we can put into effect the educational philosophy of all the great theorists in all ages. We can lead the child on to knowledge which retains always roots in his own life, instead of ramming foreign matter in to him like stuffing into a turkey. Teaching need not now outstrip experience. Experience is an arch—life a road of many arches. Beyond each the horizon of the mind expands but the end is not even to be dimly discerned by the youthful traveller in the first few hesitant steps. Hence the absurdity of pumping Shakespeare and the Classics into small boys and girls.

THE most abstract thought and symbolism is reached only on a sound foundation of physical and mental experience. The power of reasoning is a progressive faculty. Hence teaching needs to be a process of guiding the child through an ever-widening range of experiences each of which can be measured and therefore comprehended by what has gone before. Visual Education is a means both to broaden and accelerate the process, and with its help I believe we shall be able to do quite new things. For instance, since this is a world in which we must earn our daily bread, we may now equip our children to do so more quickly and more thoroughly and besides leave more time for the study of art and music and poetry and philosophy and all those more intellectual and humanitarian pursuits which nourish the sense of values and, in the words of Sir Lawrence Bragg, "the growth of political sanity".

KNOWLEDGE is not an end in itself. An educated man is not necessarily a man with his head stuffed full of facts. How many of us know men of letters who possess no taste,

no sensibilities, no human sympathy, no discrimination unless it be a certain skill in the choice and manipulation of words. They pursue knowledge as a weasel does a rabbit

or as some of us do the gadget, relentlessly, unreasoningly, for its own sake instead of for the power it has to help us towards the good life.

(c) DOCUMENTARY FILMS

By OLIVER BELL

As yet, we have scarcely had time to consider the effect of films (a) on citizenship; and (b) as a teaching device.

WHEN new devices are made available for educative purposes, people in the early, enthusiastic stages of the development of these devices, are apt to welcome and use them without discrimination. A universal value is ascribed to them, and the technique of using them applied to all sorts of purposes whether or not it is fitting to do so. This has happened in the case of the cinema film and projector.

WE should avoid this uncritical ascription of universal value to the film. It is only one of a number of devices for visual education. There are, in addition, for example, the diascope, epidiascope, film-strip and the Isotype system. Each has advantages in certain respects which the others lack.

WHAT, then, is the proper function of the film?

It can produce effects impossible with any other medium. It is a motion picture. This indicates its particular excellence and gives the necessary clue to the appropriate technique. The picture must *move* on the screen. The visual experience thus presented is the important factor. Speech is an adjunct introduced for the clearer apprehension of the visual experience. We should avoid, therefore, any lengthy speaking interludes. If long comments are necessary, the visual material is best presented as a series of still pictures or diagrams by means of the film-strip.

FURTHER, in order to realise the full potentiality of the film, the topics chosen for treatment must have inherently dynamic qualities, must be capable of movement. The film must show a coherent flow of ideas not a series of static pictures.

WE are beginning, now, to realise the limitations of the film as an educative device. It should not be used just on any or every occasion.

WHAT, then, can a good film do?

1. It can bring to the class vivid substitute-experience which is not available in the classroom in any other form, and not available in the pupils' direct first-hand experience.

THUS, this device should be kept for the purpose of bringing otherwise unattainable experience into the classroom. For example, a film showing a factory in Detroit would be a useful educative device. On the other hand, a film showing nuts and bolts would be ludicrous—a misuse of valuable celluloid and time. Obviously, nuts and bolts can be obtained easily for teaching purposes and handling them in actual fact is very much more satisfactory than looking at them on a film.

2. THE film can show effects beyond the range of normal first-hand observation.

By accelerating the speed of the pictures, growth processes which take place too slowly to be realised can be shown very vividly on the screen. Also by slowing down the speed of the pictures movements too complex

and rapid to be followed in normal observation can be made available for leisurely inspection and analysis.

In addition, by using microfilm technique many processes invisible to the naked eye can be shown clearly on the screen.

Thus, the film can be used to extend the range and power of a sense-organ.

WHAT types of film are educationally useful?

1. FIRST, the short illustration film, a sort of moving magic-lantern slide. For example, it is possible, at some length, aided by crude analogies such as using the hand, to describe the characteristic splaying action of the camel's foot which enables it to walk on sand without sinking. The action can, however, be illustrated much more effectively by a short strip of film lasting possibly from one to two minutes. The film reproduces the action in all its natural detail in a way impossible in verbal description, still picture or diagram.

2. SECOND, what might be called the lesson-film.

In this case the film supplies the observational material needed for the groundwork of a lesson. It provides a sort of real-life object-lesson particularly valuable when the objects cannot be seen otherwise.

(An actual example of a lesson-film was shown. This was a reproduction of the life-cycle of the onion from sowing the seeds to the reproduction of the next generation of seeds. This film illustrated the speed-up and the micro-film technique, as well as the use of a moving diagram as an explanatory device.)

In using lesson films, good technique is important in order to secure the greatest possible educative effect. The syllabus should be adapted so that the particular film fits correctly in a sequence of ideas. Isolated films may have little more than entertainment value. Secondly, the pupils must be psychologically prepared for the

observation. They must have some preliminary notion about what they are to see, and why they are seeing it. Then, later, it is necessary to find how much of the detail they have actually apprehended, and how much has been missed. For this reason the film-lesson must be preceded by a "lead-up" to make the mental preparation, and succeeded by a "follow-up" in which the general purport and the details of the picture are discussed. It is invariably found that significant details have been missed by some or all members of the class, while, quite often, irrelevant details are picked out and remembered. For the best results therefore, it is desirable to show the film a second time, after the first showing has been followed up.

INCIDENTALLY, this technique can be used as a means of training pupils how to look, so that they will be more likely to see clearly what is intended. On account of faulty observation the main point of a lesson-film may be completely ignored. For example, a class of children watched a film which showed natives gathering cocoa-nuts in Trinidad. One feature of the process which the film was intended to illustrate was the nut-gatherer's method of climbing the tall palms. On this occasion, however, just before the man began to climb a dog came into the scene. It was discovered later that the dog had attracted the interest and attention of the children and they had missed the man going up the tree completely.

(As a second example of a lesson-film the "Mediaeval Village" was shown. This depicts in some detail the village of Laxton, in North-East Nottinghamshire, where the old three-field system of farming still persists almost unchanged from feudal times. Many "historical" films have a very doubtful historical value. This is particularly the case with films intended for commercial entertainments, in which the various roles are taken by professional actors and actresses. The "Mediaeval Village", on the other hand, shows a genuine survival.)

WE should remember that films can be cut, and re-arranged. Therefore it is easy to remove unwanted or irrelevant detail and to edit the material for a particular purpose.

3. THIRDLY, there are the semi-documentary and documentary films.

IT is rather difficult to define these categories exactly. We could, perhaps, best approach the consideration of these films by reference to the cinema industry as a whole.

FILMS have a very great entertainment value. Film-production, together with its accessory processes, is now the fourth largest industry in the United States. But the film can have an insidious effect on habitual cinema-goers. It is hypnotic—due probably to the isolation of the illuminated screen in the darkened theatre. The spectators are separated from their real world and taken into a world of wild emotional romance. It is easy for members of the audience to identify themselves with this shadow-world and accept its false values. What effects are likely to be produced, in terms of accepted values, emotional reactions and ideas, in children who go (or have been taken) regularly to the "movies" at least once per week, from the age of approximately nine months to fourteen or fifteen years? Adolescent values and behaviour must be conditioned by these experiences. They tend to be modelled on those of the prevailing screen idols starring in a given "picture" which may be viewed by anything from thirty to a hundred million people. Some of the social effects of the cinema can be seen in the standardisation, over wide areas and across national and cultural boundaries, of styles of hair-dressing, make-up, and dress. These fashions can be observed to change with the prevailing "movie" fashions.

THESE, however, are merely externals. It is more difficult and at the same time socially more important, to know what effects this industry has in the sub-conscious aspects of experience. It has, probably, profound effects on attitudes, standards and behaviour.

For example, American films consistently intensify existing standards of material culture.

IT is possible, of course, that by means of the "movies" a common Anglo-American culture may be developed, common in externals, at least. A story is told of a party of women from a working-class neighbourhood who were conducted through Buckingham Palace. They were horrified, disappointed, even disgusted, to find that the royal bathrooms, instead of being the palatial marble pools with exotic fittings which even minor stars are accustomed to use—on the films, more nearly resembled the fixtures characteristic of a modern villa. They were so disappointed at this revelation of real life that their day was quite spoiled.

IT would seem that we must take seriously into account this distortion of people's values and expectations.

THIS brings us to the attempt to define the documentary film. In this type of film which can, of course, be entertaining as well as didactic, some attempt is made to keep more strictly to the values and facts of real life; to the details of the lives and occupations of ordinary people.

Two sub-classes of documentary films are worth noting. In the first one finds a straight-forward factual representation of some real life situation—factory industrial process, or neighbourhood, for example.

(HERE was shown, as a typical example of the purely factual "documentary", a film produced for the use of the British Council—"The New Mine". This presented details of the pit head and underground working of a modern Scots coal mine.)

IN the other sub-class are included what might be called "social documentaries". Some specific social problem is selected, and presented as a moving picture, instead of through description and argument. The problem is examined and analysed by means of the camera, so to speak, and with the

aid of the sound track verbal commentary can be added, and the argument carried through to some conclusion.

As a means of awaking social awareness and making public the facts about social conditions these films can serve a useful purpose. There are dangers, however, which should be recognised clearly. It is impossible to give a complete presentation of the total situation in a short film lasting only twenty to thirty minutes. Certain aspects of the case have to be selected, and what is selected depends upon the individual judgment of the producers of the film. Thus some bias may easily be recorded without any deliberate intent. Moreover, people tend to assume that the film represents all that can be said or shown about that particular topic and, after seeing it, they may believe they know all there is to be known about it.

NEVERTHELESS, social "documentaries" carefully produced and objectively edited,

can provide an excellent basis for a discussion.

(As an example of a social "documentary" a film entitled "Children of the City" was shown, depicting the home life and neighbourhood conditions of three delinquent boys. The possible relations between bad housing, mean social conditions and delinquency were indicated; followed by the procedure at a juvenile court. Then in the last section of the picture the audience saw some methods of dealing with juvenile delinquents — psychological examination; supervision by probation officers; youth clubs; and re-education in an approved school.)

THE film in short is a good servant but a bad master. Used properly its value is immense. But when the technique of its use is not mastered, it can be of the utmost disservice in creating merely a semblance of knowledge based on the flimsiest of impressionist foundations.

XIII Local Survey Courses with Army Units

By MRS. M. HARDIMAN

I. HOW THE SURVEY COURSES ORIGINATED
This talk will be concerned with people in H.M. Forces and with experiences gained in organising educational work in that connection. From this we can work back to what ought to be done in schools.

FIRST, what was the problem which led to the introduction of Local Survey Courses in the Services?

It had occurred to some people interested in Army Education that many of the troops had no idea at all what they were fighting

for, even if they had got as far as realising what they were fighting against. For this reason the system of talks and discussions organised by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs (A.B.C.A.) was introduced, not in the soldiers' free time merely, but as an integral part of military training, in training hours.

BUT, those responsible for leading the A.B.C.A. discussions soon found that a surprisingly large number of officers as well as other ranks knew little or nothing,

accurately, about their own country, and neighbourhood; about central and local government; or about essential social services. Therefore in addition to the A.B.C.A. pamphlets, the series of informative factual booklets known as "The British Way and Purpose" was produced and circulated.

EVEN so, there was a good deal of opposition, both open and tacit, to the use of these educational measures in the case of the Women's Services. It was held that women would not be interested in the topics treated. Certainly, it was found that the younger women particularly had had little or no experience in local government. This was apparent as soon as any attempt was made to stimulate discussion. The discussions were often failures because the members of the discussion groups had neither the knowledge nor the interest necessary as a background for effective discussion. Therefore since 1942 experiments had been made in Local Survey work. On account of the profound ignorance of many of the recruits, talks were incomprehensible to them and discussions desultory. To make the discussions realistic and practical it was necessary to cut out talks. They were too remote. The audiences could not see how the problems treated were related to their everyday lives and concerns. It was essential to increase the recruits' own knowledge of details of local affairs. This need suggested the method of sending them out into the locality to see things for themselves; to visit, for example, the Town Hall, Local Education Offices, Housing Schemes, etc.

It was soon found, however, that visiting and looking is not equivalent to learning and understanding. These students, very often, acquired little or no positive knowledge from their excursions because they did not know what were the significant details to look for, or look at, and if they did happen to observe some detail they had not sufficient background of related knowledge to interpret the meaning and bearing of what they had

observed. Moreover, the students' attitudes, for the most part, were passive. They were not seeking any specific details. Hence some means was necessary to induce a more active endeavour. The students must be induced to find out things for themselves. This, it was thought, might be done by providing them with specific questions, before an excursion, to which they would be expected to find sensible answers. Then after the excursion the various inquirers could be brought together into a discussion group, make their several reports, and then discuss the findings. Thus the procedure seemed to arrange itself in three stages, preparation; exploratory work in the field; follow-up in the discussion group.

AT this stage, however, a further problem emerged. If any practically-useful results were to be expected from this plan, it was essential that the preliminary questions should be properly set out. These questions must be such as would lead the "explorers" to the significant discoveries. This revealed the need for some preliminary training courses for leaders of study and discussion groups. The Army Education authorities approached the Institute of Sociology for assistance at this point and courses in Local Survey methods were organised for potential group leaders.

II

THE SURVEYS AND SOME RESULTS

(a) The Questions.

MOST social problems are very complex. The first need in organising Local Survey work is to break up the vague complex problems into simpler component problems each of which requires for its answer certain specific facts which can be observed in the locality. For example, it is not profitable to attempt to study Housing in general. Students should be sent out to find, in any locality, what kind of houses are there; how are they arranged; what drainage and sewerage is provided; what open spaces; how many rooms per house; what kitchen,

bathroom, living accommodation is included ; etc.

(b) Expressing what is observed.

REPORTING clearly what has been found is an essential part of the educative process. Some of the recruits were found to be more or less dumb concerning anything beyond the simplest and most childish topics of conversation. After some organised surveys, however, the students found plenty to talk about. In fact, it became difficult to stop them talking, they become so interested and eager to participate.

MOREOVER, the standards of expression rapidly improved, as well as the power of organising experiences into a coherent system. There was a more co-operative attitude and *improved general conversation in leisure time*. Imagination and interest had been stirred. These people began to realise what was going on about them.

(c) Map Work.

MAPS must form the basis of all survey work. When the complex problems are broken down into simpler components, the maps are necessary to co-ordinate the observations of the different groups of workers. In observing urban neighbourhoods, for example, the district was apportioned by means of the maps into wards, and a section of the students allocated to each ward. Each section had a list of questions to stimulate and direct their searches.

MAPS, of course, are a closed book to many people. Training and practice in their interpretation and use is necessary. But, when some facility in using maps has been gained they can become quite fascinating and informative objects of study.

(d) Interest in Historical Details.

It was noted, time and again, that when these students had a free choice in their field of study they were strongly attracted by old objects and institutions with historical associations, e.g., old churches, houses, and

other historical remains. Things of the past seemed to have a peculiar fascination.

(e) More Ambitious Schemes.

IN the case of recruits with a higher standard of education, and when time permitted, wider areas were chosen for survey. A very useful and interesting region is a river valley surveyed from the aspects of place, work and folk. These wider surveys involve more travelling, the arrangements are more complicated, and more careful preparation of the students as a preliminary to the survey is required. Nevertheless the work is well worth while. It promoted a very lively interest in the countryside and in rural life and occupations. A farm was found to be an excellent unit for study.

(f) Some new attitudes and habits induced by the Local Survey Work.

i. THE work promoted the habit of talking to and studying other people. The other people come to be regarded not as mere objects in the landscape, but as individuals with interesting lives, occupations and problems. A wealth of interest was discovered in the details of people's occupations. This discovery of interest in the apparently ordinary produced a marked feeling of social participation.

ii. LOCAL survey work induced an awareness of the necessity for approaching social problems in terms of people, of details, of reasons, and historical trends ; instead of foregone conclusions. Problems are related to geographical and historical conditions in the locality.

iii. THE work provided a much-needed training in scientific method. It stimulated the habit of asking " why ? " " What are the reasons (for some local condition) ? " It promoted an attitude of objective regard. Problems were approached with more open minds, less prejudice and emotional bias.

IN this connection, it should be noted that the primary object of these Local Survey Courses was to stimulate human interests

and arouse awareness of the locality and its social problems in the minds of the students. It was not intended to train social research workers. Obviously the courses were too short, and the majority of the students had not the necessary academic background and interests for research purposes. Nevertheless, these preliminary courses did arouse more than a mere passing interest in many of the students, and led to further work later. And these students regarded their fellow creatures, and their neighbourhoods with a new interest and awakened comprehension.

(g) Some Particular Uses of Local Survey Courses in General Education.

i. THEY are extremely valuable for stimulating people who are backward from the point of view of general information and civic awareness.

ii. THEY provide an excellent training for educationally retarded older adolescents and adults. Some of the women in the A.T.S. could only just read and write, and had little or nothing to read and write about. Surveys provided definite objectives and incentives for reading, writing and oral expression. For example, there were letters of thanks to be sent to municipal officials for interviews and facilities for observation; accounts to be made out; reports to be read; letters to be answered, etc.

iii. THEY are equally valuable as a corrective for the verbal habits of the academic bookworm. Arm-chair philosophy, science and sociology is so much easier and more comfortable than actual observation in the field. Reading books is a quicker way of collecting information. Theories can readily be evolved out of abstractions. All this, however, is dangerous. Factual investigation is essential in social study. The local survey forces the lover of abstractions to find the facts and face them, and discard the comfortable abstractions.

iv. THEY are a convenient and effective way of integrating the attitudes and interests

of specialists. The pursuit of specialist occupations and studies so characteristic of modern conditions tends to disrupt social unity and mutual understanding. If specialists engage in local survey work they are introduced to a locality as a social whole and begin to visualise themselves and their special studies in relation to each other and to the community as a whole.

v. THE work has a valuable vocational aspect. Visits to the sites of a variety of occupations enlarges people's knowledge of, and interest in, a number of alternative vocational opportunities. They can see conditions and prospects for themselves; and for many young people this wider acquaintance may lead to the discovery of more congenial jobs.

vi. IT provides an excellent social "ice-breaker". The study groups bring people with different interests and social backgrounds together. They provide the students with a common objective. Members of the various groups get to know each other more intimately, and often discover qualities, abilities and sources of interest in people who would otherwise have remained unknown.

MOREOVER, the interest and enjoyment so often found in the course leads to a revision, in the minds of many people, of their notions of education. Education, for very many ordinary people, means a dull, dreary process of sitting still, in rows, listening passively to something in the nature of a task having nothing to do with their everyday lives and interests.

vii. SURVEY work corrects another misguided and socially-unfortunate attitude derived from school. In school most of the work is strictly individualistic. Emphasis is put on doing one's own work. "Copying" is forbidden. These habits and attitudes are closely connected with examination technique. Survey work, on the other hand, is co-operative. The work is accomplished in

groups or teams. It involves pooling results. Competition when it occurs is competition between groups, not individuals. Moreover, the work has a clearly defined social purpose.

THUS, it is more productive of social attitudes and social skills needed in modern affairs than the orthodox methods of schooling.

viii. SURVEY work gives people an awareness of their own importance in the community ; and a critical interest in their own living conditions. In addition to this social awareness they learn what are the best methods of approach to action in the public interest, for example, in housing and town planning.

XIV The Multi-bias School as a Social Experiment

By E. GRAHAM SAVAGE

THE Chairman was correct when he spoke of popular ignorance of the meaning of "multi-bias" or "multi-lateral" as applied to secondary schools. Few people seem to have grasped the essential meaning involved. For this reason the London County Council has decided to adopt an alternative nomenclature, and to call their new schools "Comprehensive High Schools". This will indicate much more accurately the essential features of these proposed new secondary schools.

THUS, the Comprehensive High School is a school intended to cater for *all* pupils of secondary school age in any given neighbourhood. It is intended that *all* the children in the secondary stage of schooling shall attend and that differentiation of curriculum according to the individual needs of different pupils shall be organised within one institution.

THIS is not a new idea. It is, in fact, common practice in the United States where it originated. It is a natural development from the economic and social conditions of the early pioneers. In the pioneer settlements any traditions of the emigrants had to be modified to fit the inescapable limitations of frontier conditions. One

school building had to suffice for all the children in each settlement even though they might remain at school until they were sixteen. The "comprehensive" school was the only possible solution for the early settlers' immediate educational requirements and it has become the prototype for all future educational development. Moreover, apart from limitations imposed by restricted economic resources, the comprehensive school satisfied a strong awareness of the need for social solidarity. The early pioneer settlements depended for their existence on a strong community feeling. Moreover, awareness of the importance of social education has been quickened by later immigration. It has been vitally necessary to ensure by every possible means the assimilation into one social community of a great variety of immigrants with very diverse backgrounds of native language, tradition and ideology. The Comprehensive High School need not be a large school. In some Middle-Western States such schools may have not more than fifty pupils on the register. However, when transport facilities allow, and in densely populated urban areas, these High Schools may be very big ; in some cases even up to some ten thousand pupils. This, of course, is much too big, but schools of two thousand

to two thousand five hundred pupils are quite common, and such institutions are not at all unmanageable.

URBANISATION in the United States has changed the conditions of security and dissipated a good deal of the earlier communal awareness and interest. The rapid influx of foreign immigrants in the later part of the 19th century has increased a feeling of class consciousness, and there has been a tendency to segregation on the part of the older, more cultured groups of the people, particularly of English origin, and a corresponding increase in the number of private schools. This is particularly noticeable in the more cosmopolitan centres.

EVEN so, there is not the same degree of social stratification and class distinction in the U.S.A. as in Western Europe and England. It may be that when the immigrants have been securely assimilated within a common American culture this phase of social-class segregation and private schools may pass away.

FOR purposes of comparison, the plan of the United States system is interesting. Compulsory schooling begins at age six and the general leaving age is about sixteen years. Six to fourteen has been the primary and fourteen to eighteen the secondary school age range. There is a noticeable tendency now, however, to organise schooling in three progressive phases, namely, primary, from 6 to 12 years; Junior High School from 12 to 15 years; and High School from 15 to 18 years. Some pupils stay on in the primary school after the normal age of "graduation" in order to "make the grade". This practice is not very satisfactory on account of the physical size and maturity of these educationally retarded pupils.

COMPARED with our normal English secondary schools at the present time the American High Schools seem to be socially and emotionally satisfying, but not so good intellectually. Detailed comparison, however, is difficult. The *whole* secondary school

population in America is being compared with a highly selected sample in the English schools. It is interesting to note that in certain objective tests of educational attainment in French no significant differences between the two secondary systems was found. On the whole, English standards of sixth-form work are probably higher than in American schools. This cannot be attributed to the Comprehensive High School as such. It is more likely to be due to greater incentives to academic work, scholarships for example, than exist in American schools.

THE educational background and conditions have been much different in England from those in the United States. We have had several school-leaving ages, e.g., 14, 16, 18 years. The education of the ordinary people has had to be dragged with difficulty from the authorities, and when extensions have been granted, or extorted as in 1870, or 1902, only just what happened to be convenient, or expedient at the particular time was allowed. Even then, these extensions of educational facilities were all modelled on the traditions of the old grammar schools. Only one type of schooling was considered to be secondary education. Between 1904 and 1910 the conception of junior technical schools began to emerge, but, even in that case, the majority of pupils were ignored. The principle throughout English post-primary education has been selection of the best for special training.

Now, in the Act of 1944, comes our great opportunity to organise secondary education for all, and unify the system.

HOWEVER, the Act presents a major difficulty, namely, selection at the age of eleven plus. This is catastrophic. Such selection at that age cannot ensure verdicts which will be accurate in later years. Nor does the proposed differentiation at eleven years make for social unity on account of the prestige of the grammar type of secondary education. The London County Council disbelieve completely in selection at this

early age. This has led them to the decision to develop a system of Comprehensive High Schools.

WHAT are the problems involved, and how is the L.C.C. trying to carry out the project?

THE County of London is to be replanned. This is a long-term policy which will require at least fifty years. The capital is to be organised in sixty-three neighbourhoods based on old-established communities. The plan will include a zoning of industry. These community divisions will be taken as a basis for planning the Comprehensive High Schools.

It is not yet known how many children London must provide for in the post-war period, and any estimate based on present conditions and trends can be only approximate. The most probable number according to present estimates is in the region of 300,000. To accommodate this number of secondary pupils the L.C.C. propose to build or adapt some sixty to ninety schools. Each school must be big enough to take all the pupils in its area. [This was said in 1945. To-day there are more children in the schools and the numbers are rising.]

It is accepted as axiomatic that the educational standards of our secondary schools must not be sacrificed. We may take as our standard what we regard as good sixth-form work in our present grammar schools. This standard then determines the minimum size of a Comprehensive High School. For a sixth-form of thirty pupils a three-form annual intake is necessary. This means a school population of some 450 pupils. Approximately 450, therefore, should be the size of the *grammar side* of the school. The more academic, or grammar, pupils are estimated to make about one fifth of the post-primary population. This indicates a total accommodation in each school of approximately 5 times 450, that is 2,250 pupils. This estimate is probably too high, since few pupils of the academic type are likely to emerge from the "C-streams".

Possibly, therefore, the maximum accommodation required to maintain a good sixth-form may be nearer 5 times 360, that is 1,800 places.

SEVERAL persistent objections have been urged against the Comprehensive High School ostensibly on the grounds of its size and unwieldy nature from an administrative point of view.

It is said that the Head will not know all his pupils. But, really, there is no good reason why each Head should know *all* the pupils. This difficulty can be avoided by good organisation and the flexibility which will be possible with the bigger staffs. The school can be subdivided for purposes of supervision into sections under deputy-heads. These officials may correspond to the Housemasters in our big public schools. Quite a number of these latter schools are large, e.g., Eton and Manchester Grammar School each accommodate about 1,150 boys.

AGAIN, another very definite advantage is offered by the bigger schools. It is possible to provide sufficient clerical and administrative assistance. The teaching staffs and the Heads can then devote their time to the work they are supposed to do, namely to concentrate on the education of the pupils.

HOWEVER, some of the schools proposed in the L.C.C. scheme will be based on an accommodation of 1,200 places. Schools much below this size present very considerable difficulties from both an educational and an administrative point of view.

WITH regard to curricula, the work during the first year must be on a general plan. This year must be treated at least partly as a diagnostic period leading to some more definite allocation of pupils at the beginning of the second year. But it is *not* proposed to organise any hard and fast three-stream arrangements. The objective is one comprehensive secondary school, not three separate sections in one large building. There is every reason, for example, for organising several alternative

academic courses as well as courses of a non-academic or technical nature. The importance of home-craft is not confined entirely to pupils in the lower I.Q. levels. Pupils with more academic aptitudes need such courses. The presence in the secondary schools of the just-educable sections of the adolescent population will create difficulties. But with the necessary change of educational attitudes on the part of the teachers concerned, these pupils will not be an insuperable difficulty, and they will share in the richer social life made possible by the bigger school.

THERE is no doubt, of course, that the scheme will present difficult problems for solution. To mention only one material problem—a site of about nine acres, not including playing fields, will be required for each school. The L.C.C. have, now, about nineteen sites.

STILL, in spite of the difficulties this organisation of a system of Comprehensive High Schools is a great adventure.

NOTE.—This talk was followed by a lively discussion during which several other matters of interest emerged.

THE speaker said that it was not proposed to make all the new schools co-educational. Some would be co-educational, but others would accommodate boys or girls separately.

HE believed that Comprehensive High Schools were particularly suitable for county towns of about 100,000 inhabitants. Towns of this size would allow for two such schools which could be sited somewhere on the periphery of the town.

HE disagreed with the conception of two or three *separate* schools on the same site. This proposal would create difficulties with respect to transfer of pupils in cases where the first allocation had been inaccurate. And, one large school offered many administrative advantages in the common usage of classrooms, laboratories, gymnasium and workshops.

XV Conclusion

By A. PINSENT

IN attempting an interpretation of the meaning of the conference as a whole it is necessary to emphasise that we are living in a revolution. Real revolutions are *radical changes in standpoint*. They happen when somebody regards the world from a different point of view. Such a change of standpoint, when realised explicitly, produces a change in concepts and a re-estimation of values. It requires a reorganisation of prevailing frames of mind, and, sooner or later, necessitates a reorganisation of society itself to fit the change in point of view.

THE change in point of view which has occurred in our time is, of course, by no

means completely novel, any more than, for example, the Copernican revolution was completely novel. That had been mooted in the first place by the Greeks, as ours was by a Hebrew. The significance of our epoch lies in the fact that a new standpoint is being realised explicitly and rapidly by a majority of the people. Our revolution consists in a re-vision of the status of human individuals. Traditionally, society has been deemed to exist in the interest of a minority of privileged people for whom it seemed just that the majority should act as instruments. The new conviction is that society and all its benefits should exist for the greatest possible good of all the people.

STUDENTS of educational history are familiar with the concept of education as a process of self-development ; a training for æsthetic enjoyment and for the full development of personality. This concept can be found in one form or another in the writings of educational theorists since the beginning of recorded history. In fact, however, most systems of education have been organised on the assumption that the ideal could, or should, be realised only by a minority of the high-born or sufficiently wealthy, or by carefully hand-picked samples of the intellectually or artistically gifted. It may be argued that Christianity has embodied the revised estimates of human value which are the basis of the present revolution. That does not alter the fact that ecclesiastical systems have been organised for the most part in hierarchical forms closely resembling those of secular society ; that the established Church has been, in effect, a department of the civil service ; and that the corresponding practice of education has been, only too often, a dreary negative discipline imposed by authority as a preparation for a hypothetical future life.

MR. DENT referred to this modern revolution when he spoke of an increasing consciousness of change, expedited by war, to a planned society on a democratic basis. The Education Act of 1944 provides the administrative framework for a change from selective to universal education. It puts an *obligation* upon Education Authorities to organise a variety of opportunity for *everybody* according to his capacities, interests, and needs irrespective of the financial circumstances of his parents.

THIS changed point of view puts an obligation also upon educationists. If we accept the new standpoint we must work out in practical detail what is meant by such phrases as education for all in a democratic society ; education for self-fulfilment ; equality of educational opportunity (in the face of extreme differences in intellectual

and temperamental endowment). The clear statement of such meanings is required to direct the re-organisation of our traditional educational system, curriculum, and methods of teaching ; and, may be, even of our traditional views of religion and religious education. And, since it is impossible to conceive of an educational system apart from a correlative society, we shall need to work out the changes in social organisation which will permit the desired changes in education.

As I see it, the significance of our conference lies in the fact that we have been trying to work out in practical detail some of the educational and social implications of our modern revolution. Let us see what has emerged from the talks and discussions.

I

IF we wish to make the best conditions for full development we have to ask how human development does actually take place, irrespective of our traditional views or contemporary wishes about it.

DR. Barlow indicated an important principle in this connection. He described how, in foetal development, the faculties of the embryo are evolved until they are capable of dealing with the stimuli of the external environment. Then, after birth, the infant acts selectively with respect to the total possibilities of its environment, attending to such stimuli as are most appropriate to the full realisation of the faculties which are approaching maturity at each succeeding phase of its development. As each faculty matures it appears to give rise to a state of readiness for, and a dominant interest in, such activities as are appropriate for its exercise. Thus we get a picture of the developing individual selecting spontaneously from his environment what is needed for present exercise and future development. Nature's way seems to be to provide an environment rich in variety and allow the growing child to help itself.

IF we accept this point of view, and accept the fact that individuals are differently endowed, it seems to follow that the function of government and the social order (and, of course, of the schools) is to provide an environment sufficiently rich in variety to enable each individual to select from it what is required by his maturing faculties.

THUS the first implication of our changed point of view would appear to be a material culture and a social order rich enough in variety of opportunity to match individual needs. We have not yet realised with sufficient intensity how starved many, if not the majority of people have been, intellectually and emotionally, as well as physically. This fact of starvation was stressed by several speakers, for example, Mrs. Engholm, Miss Paston-Brown, Mr. Kimbell, in connection with their special media. In the absence of sufficient appropriate stimuli and opportunity for response neither mental nor physical development will reach the highest level possible for any given individual's endowment.

THUS, the problem is shifted to the environment, both physical and social. We must strive after higher standards of material culture and community life for the greatest possible number of people. This means higher standards of nutrition, hygiene, housing, and economic security; more opportunities for healthy courtship, marriage, family and home organisation; more satisfying vocation and leisure. These higher standards have to be translated into fact by political and educational planning, social administration, and work.

II

IT would seem that we must regard education and learning as *effective participation*. To achieve full development the learner must grasp and assimilate his environment according to his need. We must regard learning not as a process of memorising by repetition but mainly as a *process of selection and*

absorption in which knowledge and skills become part and parcel of the self. Dr. Barlow mentioned instances from his experiences at the Peckham Health Centre which indicated how, in a favourable environment this selection and absorption of appropriate experience leads to a realisation of responsibility, and appreciation of the need for social order. He implied that this was the most effective way to the development of personal and social discipline.

III

THE problem now arises—how can we secure, in practice, for each developing person the maximum degree of effective participation in the meaning indicated above? Several speakers, each dealing with different aspects of educational activity, indicated a common answer, expressed most tersely by Mr. F. J. Wood. He insisted that education must be *through* the environment, not *for* it.

Education through the environment. Two important implications follow:—one for the content of the curriculum; the other for method of teaching:—

(a) WE must *approach* knowledge through the medium of immediate experience. This means, at different levels of development, exploring the home, exploring the neighbourhood, and, later, utilising vocation as an educative medium.

THIS principle of utilising the home, neighbourhood, and vocation as educational media was emphasised by Miss Fletcher (who showed how it must affect the training of teachers), Mrs. Engholm, Miss Paston-Brown, Professor Lauwerys, and Mr. F. J. Wood. Mrs. Wood in her discussion of Home-making and the Technique of Housecraft as Social Skills, showed how, for some adolescents, home-making could be expanded into a complete and satisfying training, intellectual and social. The same principle was illustrated in detail in Mrs. Hardiman's account of Local Survey work with units of

H.M. Forces. The educational significance of local survey work lies in the fact that it promotes the active exploration and intimate knowledge of the neighbourhood.

(b) TEACHING methods must encourage the active initiative of the pupils rather than a passive receptive attitude.

On the whole, it is true to say that our schools have been built and organised as places in which pupils sat and listened to the voices of authority whereas our principle requires that they should be places in which pupils work and, within the limits of their capacity, create. Contributors to the conference have emphasised again and again the great value of spontaneous and *purposeful* activity. There can be no absorption, in our meaning of the term, without it. Mrs. Engholm for pictorial art, Miss Paston-Brown for literature, Mr. Kimbell for music, Mr. Ellis for handicrafts, insisted on the value of pupils' attempts at design and composition. Professor Lauwerys for science stressed the importance of utility as a factor in interest. Mr. F. J. Wood, for adolescent pupils, and Mrs. Hardiman, for adult learners, both illustrated the immense difference in interest and in learning efficiency between a desultory walk and an active search of the environment for answers to specific problems. Both insisted also upon the need to follow up the exploration by a discussion of the observations.

THE same principle was implied in Group-Captain O'Malley's talk on Rehabilitation. This contribution had a special interest for educationists since it showed most vividly *the close relation between spontaneous activity, purposeful activity, and successful activity and the re-establishment of self-confidence and courage together with the rehabilitation of physical and mental health.* In this connection we should not forget that our schools, colleges, and factories contain many persons who need physical, intellectual, and emotional rehabilitation although they show no signs of overt injury. Captain O'Malley described

how the policy of the rehabilitation centres is to induce the will to recover, to evoke within the injured man the spirit of self-endeavour. Their motto is "We help you to help yourself". This might be displayed conspicuously in every school, training college, and university with considerable advantage to pupils, students, and tutors.

THE film of the Lanchester Marionettes showed a brilliant example of spontaneous purposeful creative activity.

YET another aspect of this principle was introduced by Dr. Neurath in his talk on the Isotype method of visual education. He explained how the isotype pictures and symbols and the way in which they were arranged, not only helped learners to grasp and absorb the relations exemplified but also aroused an active curiosity which led to questioning and further study.

IV

THESE principles of active learning introduce another problem in the synthesis of school and society, namely, *the function of the schools as advance-posts of civilisation.*

SEVERAL speakers mentioned the difficulties caused by the conflict between the debased commercialised standards existing in the environment and the standards represented by good schools. The same point emerged in the discussion following Mrs. Hardiman's talk on local surveys. The speaker described how the awareness of bad conditions in the local area surveyed led to a critical attitude toward local government on the part of the students.

THIS relation between school and society was a main feature of the second half of the conference proceedings. It is impossible to discuss the organisation and curriculum of schools apart from the form of the society which they will be required to serve. If we envisage a planned economy on a democratic basis then we must ask what social skills and attitudes the schools should encourage.

PLANNED economy means some form of control and centralised co-ordination. Democracy means that the controls must be accepted and imposed by individuals upon themselves as units in the social order. This self-control is the only solution to the supposed antinomy between control and freedom. Thus, in school work, the emphasis must be placed on team-work and planned co-operation rather than on individual enterprise as such, and the unlimited competition between individuals which is the inevitable sequel.

AGAIN, government by consent means representative government, that is, government by committee and delegation. If this method is to be efficient it requires a host of social skills and a *new attitude toward knowledge*. We must have in the citizens ability to *discuss* rather than debate; to put a case forward clearly, cogently, and *objectively* (that is, without prejudice and distortion due to personal emotion and wishful thinking); to listen judiciously; to use experts wisely; to make, not ideal decisions, but the best decisions possible on the evidence available. Moreover, we must regard knowledge not as the private personal possession of some individual authority but as a *social function*. No single person can be completely correct because of his inevitable personal limitations. The pursuit of knowledge is a social activity. The acceptance of this point of view must lead immediately to very considerable changes in the traditional relation of teachers to pupils and in the conduct of classroom activities.

In this connection, Professor Lauwerys indicated one value of good science teaching. Of particular importance is his plea for a historical approach to science, and for the use of biographical material. It is essential for pupils to grasp the close relation of scientific knowledge to social conditions in any historical epoch. Scientific hypotheses (and we might add, religious doctrines) are conditioned by the form of society in

which they are elaborated. Sociologists have a most important function in developing this awareness. Moreover, it is also desirable that pupils should realise that even geniuses are apt to be fools in patches.

PROFESSOR PEAR insisted on the superiority of skills in discussion over skills in debate; and upon the importance of *speaking* in language training. We have given over-much attention and time in schools to reading and writing as mechanical arts for economic and examination purposes to the detriment of skills in speaking—a clear case of education for the environment instead of through it.

AGAIN, democracy, properly interpreted, must mean the free circulation of able people. We cannot afford the waste of ability due to the presence of social-class bars to promotion and leadership. In this connection, Professor Pear stressed the *social* value of speaking, accent, manners, poise, and tact. He showed how certain accents and mannerisms have a social diagnostic significance, being in some cases social stigmata. This raises immediately in an acute form the problem of standard English and the preservation of dialects. The speaker suggested that the most satisfactory solution of this difficult problem lies in training *clarity* in speaking, and accuracy of description rather than the extirpation of dialect. Positive training in these social skills will become a necessity in the next historical period and, therefore, a matter of the first importance in the work of the re-organised secondary schools.

V

If we accept the principles indicated above, certain subsidiary problems must have our attention.

(1) THE RELATION BETWEEN IMMEDIATE EXPERIENCE AND REMOTE FACT

It may be argued that education through the environment, and the exploration of

the home and neighbourhood must produce a narrow imagination and parochial attitudes. This result is possible but not necessary. It was not suggested or intended by any of the speakers that the learners' knowledge and vision should remain for ever within the bounds of home, neighbourhood, local farm or factory. Indeed, the attempt to secure that very limitation has always been the mark of the reactionary. On the contrary, the proposal is to use the immediate experience of home, neighbourhood, and vocation as the best psychological approach to the wide world, and to the more effective realisation of universal principles; not as an end in itself. It is a psychological fact, amply demonstrated by controlled experiments, that new experiences are intelligible only in terms of existing knowledge. It is equally true that the local situation is a particular manifestation of some more universal principle. Knowledge develops through a process of evolution. We grasp the general through the medium of the particular; the more remote through the more immediate. There is no other way to effective understanding. If the process is reversed as it has been only too often in school studies, the learners' knowledge exists as a set of verbal propositions having little or no connection with the world of their experience, that is the world in which they must live and act.

BUT, as the field of understanding expands, the more remote modifies and enriches our appreciation of the immediate; we re-view the particulars in the light of the emerging universals (that is if we have been properly educated). Moreover, in a well-ordered education nowadays, we need not be confined strictly to a particular locality, eked out by verbal description. Epidiascope, film-strip, and cinema projector; sound-track and radio now put vivid substitutes for first-hand experience at the service of the schools, and increased travel facilities will make a wider range of first-hand experience more readily available. The educational

possibilities of these visual devices were demonstrated by the examples provided by Commander Rawnsley, Mr. Bell, Mr. and Mrs. Lanchester. We should note, however, that no amount of travel, nor even a world-wide selection of visual substitutes will, of themselves, produce a sound understanding of relations, or appreciation of the universal aspects of sensory experience. For this, discussion, comparison and contrast, and contemplation are essential; and here, an intelligent choice of topics and the good teacher's guidance are still necessary. The mechanical devices provide substitute experience. They do not supersede the teacher's function. A satisfactory education is a *synthesis* of the immediate and the remote, of the particular and the universal, and not a juxtaposition of local experience with verbal formulæ of universal import. This synthesis must be created in the understanding of every pupil up to the limit of his intellectual and æsthetic capacity. It is a mistake to envisage creative education solely in terms of pictures, pottery, poetry, or handwork models. Fully creative education must include the pupils' creation of this synthesis we have indicated here. The arts and crafts, scientific observations and experiments, exploration of the home and neighbourhood are the media through which this synthesis is achieved.

(2) INTER-RELATION OF SUBJECT-MATTER

ONE unfortunate result of the tendency to educate for the environment, which has meant, in too many cases, for an examination, has been the teaching of special subjects as special subjects. In traditional secondary-school practice the curriculum has been conceived and presented in compartments often with little or no inter-communication. Arithmetic, writing, reading; language, literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, history, geography—this compartmentalised material is the bulk of much of our present-day school work.

EDUCATION through the environment means a drastic re-organisation of the curriculum,

most particularly in the earlier phases of schooling. Several contributors, directly and by implication, protested against this artificial compartmentalisation of knowledge. For example, homecraft, drama production, science, agriculture, art, handicraft, physical training were recommended by our speakers as media for the integration of many different special branches of knowledge and skill.

BUT here again we are presented with a conflicting situation. The traditional subjects have been organised into more and more specific forms in the course of historical development as a necessary convenience for practical and theoretical purposes. The limitations of time and of the human intellect make some degree of specialisation inevitable.

WHAT, then, can we do about it?

THE correct procedure would seem to be indicated by a study of the historical development of knowledge. This indicates quite clearly how knowledge, even of mathematics, has begun in the study and solution of local problems. Mankind as a whole has, in fact, learned through the environment. Intellectual systematisation and specialisation have been very much the later and not the earlier forms of knowledge. Moreover, biological development seems to proceed from less to more specific function. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to follow the same rule in teaching. Specialisation and systematisation of knowledge should be a gradual process, introduced as the developing learner gathers experience, becomes aware of distinctions, and craves for increasing order in his intellectual content. We have used specialised knowledge and skills for teaching purposes too early, in the interest of economic advantage and to the detriment of the learners' intellectual and emotional health. Subjects as such have been the main purpose of teaching and learning, being presented without due regard to their relations with each other and with the wider field of knowledge as a whole.

(3) EXAMINATIONS

EDUCATION through the environment and the integration of knowledge bring up the problem of examinations. Our present examination system is based to a great extent upon subject-specialisation, and this fact has, in turn, encouraged an increasing insistence upon subject specialisation for examination purposes, a good example of a vicious cycle.

It is obvious that we cannot implement the principles which have emerged in the course of our discussions within an educational system dominated from above by the adult requirements of academic and technological specialisation. Teachers interested in educational reform invariably find themselves in conflict with the examination system.

THIS does not mean, however, that we can, or should, abolish examinations altogether. Sir David Ross put this point clearly at the close of the conference. Examinations do provide an objective test of certain types of ability. In the absence of examination results we are forced to choose candidates by personal impression, or patronage, both of which are liable to serious abuse. Success in an examination is some indication of a known standard of attainment *existing at the time of the examination*. And, an examination syllabus together with the final test does provide a definite objective, and a challenge (that is, an incentive) to both pupils and teachers. Hence we cannot too lightly dismiss examinations as completely evil or as quite unnecessary. Our policy must be, therefore, to modify examination technique.

(4) INTER-RELATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS WITH SOCIAL CONDITIONS

MUCH school work has been carried on as if it had no connection with social life and contemporary social conditions. Such a separation is artificial and leads to unfortunate consequences for both learners and

society. One aspect of this inter-relation was illustrated by Mr. Ellis in connection with handicraft and design. He showed how the conditions in which craft work is performed, and the intellectual and social attitudes current at the time, influence the design and execution of the craft, and the attitudes of the craftsman. Design and execution are influenced by such conditions as individual effort or co-operative teamwork; machine production or handwork; hurry or leisure; authoritative prescription or personal idiosyncrasy. Of particular interest was his example of the craft of wig-making. This was ruled by rigid formulae prescribed by conventions external to the craft. No personal choice or deviation was permitted to the craftsman. There is evidence that, as a consequence of this dehumanising of the craft, a tendency arose, as a sort of compensation for the limitation, to elevate the craft to a terrific mystery which had the effect of glorifying the craftsman.

ANOTHER aspect of this principle appears in the plea, made with particular emphasis by Professor Lauwerys in connection with science teaching, that the organisation of the syllabus and the methods of teaching should aim at making the learners aware of the social implications of their knowledge. He proposed that the curriculum at the secondary stage should be organised around the topics of food, health, the transformation of material and the control of power; all topics of first-rate social importance. Moreover, the study of science should produce in the pupils a confidence in our technical competence to solve material and social problems; some recognition of the inevitability of change and of the possibility of controlled orderly change; and, above all, of the potential dangers of misapplied scientific knowledge. Together with advances in scientific knowledge and skill we need an awareness of social responsibility. This was illustrated by reference

to the probability of an atomic bomb with tremendous destructive power.¹

THE same principle is implied in the discussions on art, literature, music, and home-craft and the relations of the work as carried on in schools to standards of public taste.

(5) NEED FOR EDUCATING PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND SUPERVISORY STAFFS IN INDUSTRY

SCHOOLING according to a new standpoint will meet resistance from many parents. The economic welfare of their children is a matter of grave concern and any change will be regarded critically according to this criterion. They will be suspicious of any radical changes in curriculum or teaching methods from those current in their own school days. Therefore the willing co-operation of parents is essential for the success of new schemes. They must be brought into closer touch with the schools by means of parents' meetings or, preferably, parents' associations in permanent form. It will be necessary to take the parents into the confidence of educational reformers and teachers. Explanations of the reasons for educational changes must be given in understandable terms. The urgent need for closer co-operation of schools with the parents has been stressed by several speakers during the conference.

AGAIN, we shall require drastic changes in the attitudes as well as the knowledge and methods of the teachers, particularly of the teachers of the less-highly-gifted pupils in the re-organised secondary schools, for whom the changes in curriculum and method are most needed. Teachers, for the most part, are the most successful products of the unsatisfactory curricula and methods which, directly or by implication, have been

¹ This reference was emphasised with dramatic intensity about a fortnight after the conference by the announcement that the explosion of a single atomic bomb had destroyed in a few minutes some four square miles of the Japanese town of Hiroshima.

criticised and found wanting by conference speakers. For example, many teachers with high academic qualifications do not know their immediate neighbourhood sufficiently intimately to educate their pupils through it. Nor are they interested in it. They are better acquainted with, and more interested in, special subjects in a universe of words. A period of re-education with regard to both their knowledge and their attitudes is necessary before some of the reforms indicated above can be carried out, particularly in secondary education. This problem concerns the universities and the training colleges. Their attitudes and values are also in question, as well as their methods of teaching. This aspect of the problem will become acute if and when the number of students in these institutions of learning is increased to any marked extent. There is room for some experimental colleges. In this connection emergency training colleges for teachers have an important contribution to make, not only to the theory and practice of teacher-training, but also to the wider problem of higher education. Serious study of the social sciences ought to be encouraged at the college and university level.

VI

LIMITING FACTORS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

In considering reforms in the educational system it is essential that we keep in mind certain limiting factors which must condition any changes. Schoolmasters and educational administrators are exposed to two sources of excessive demand. In the first place, converts and propagandists are usually enthusiasts. In the second place, in a rapidly changing society, as ours is at the present time, many sectional interests and 'pressure groups', each intent on its own particular set of interests, will demand special consideration without overmuch regard for the needs of the situation as a whole. There is a strong tendency, therefore, to lose sight

of three sets of limiting factors inherent in the educational situation. These are:—

(a) MATERIAL RESOURCES

THE richness and variety of an educational environment on a national scale will be limited by the material resources of the community—land, buildings, labour, etc.—available for extensions of the system. We have by no means reached the limit of our resources in this country. Indeed, the provision for State education has been meagre in the extreme, in many cases, notably in rural areas. Nevertheless, there are limits at any given time which must be taken into account in estimating progress, particularly in the generation succeeding the present war. For example, in view of the need for general re-construction, one serious limiting factor will be a shortage of skilled labour; and here, of course, we must include well-trained teachers and educational administrators.

(b) THE TIME FACTOR

TIME is a limiting factor, in two ways.

It is a limiting factor in the same way as is any container. It is impossible to learn more in a given time than the human organism can absorb taking into account its other commitments, e.g., need for food, sleep, and recreation. People who clamour for the introduction into the curriculum of new subjects and skills tend to forget this particular limitation.

THIS difficulty can be overcome to some extent by extending the school age. Statutory age limits for compulsory schooling have been absurdly low for the majority of pupils, and we have got into the unfortunate habit of regarding education as complete when the pupil leaves school. There has been a constant upward trend in the school-leaving age during the nineteenth century. And, as Mr. Dent suggested, it is absurd to regard a statutory school-leaving age as marking the end of the educative process. We need to regard education as a

continuous process which goes on throughout life. The new Education Act which legalises the provision for 'further' and adult education for everybody is equivalent to enlarging the container. The longer time available for organised schooling will make necessary a critical reconsideration of the curriculum throughout the whole period of schooling in order to arrive at what might be called a better articulation of the work.

THIS brings us to a consideration of time as a limiting factor in development. Pupils are not born with all their powers fully mature, and rates of maturation seem to be determined by native endowment and beyond the direct control of the educator. If we assume that the greatest efficiency in learning will occur when any particular faculty has reached its functional maturity, it would seem absurd to introduce subject-matter and activities before the pupils are mature enough to deal with them effectively. For the best results in any given case, the tasks required of the learners must be graded according to the degree of maturity of their powers. Mr. Dent suggested that we had been in the habit of teaching too much, too early. Experience gained by the promoters of the Danish Folk High Schools confirming this position was mentioned. It was felt that a good deal of the more abstract aspects of mathematics, grammar, and science could be postponed from the primary to the later stages of secondary education. In this connection we need to keep in mind the close relation between the ability to succeed in a task and interest in it. Success is a powerful source of interest and this, in turn, leads to more rapid absorption.

HENCE we can mitigate the effect of time as a limiting factor by extending the provision of educative facilities into adult life; and by adjusting the curriculum so that the work required of any learner is as nicely as possible matched by his maturity of development. Such an adjustment facilitates the greatest

rapidity of learning commensurate with the individual pupil's aptitudes.

(c) INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN APTITUDE

A THIRD limiting factor is the kind and degree of an individual learner's powers. People are not born equal in endowment. Their optimum rates of learning and upper limits of achievement vary very considerably. Nor can every pupil learn every type of subject-matter or skill with equal facility. These facts have a direct bearing on educational organisation.

(i) We must not expect that any new curriculum, or method of teaching, or environment (however rich it may be in educative possibility) will make every dull wit into a first-rate scholar or craftsman. There are no magic powers even in creative education. The best we can expect from any educative process is that it will enable every pupil to realise, in fact, the highest degree of achievement which his particular endowment will permit.

(ii) IF a nice adjustment of difficulty to aptitude is desirable in the case of the slower, less gifted pupils, it is equally desirable for the highly-gifted. Full realisation of the learner's powers both in effective response, and in the learner's estimation of his own position and possibilities, is never achieved until the learning situation offers difficulties to be overcome which match his potential ability. It is desirable for every learner to rise to the occasion, i.e., for his full powers to be stretched by the challenge of the task. This applies to pupils and students with high intellectual and artistic endowments. Particularly in a difficult period like the present we cannot afford to neglect the fullest possible training of gifted individuals. We need an élite to provide direction and leadership. Democracy does not mean the apotheosis of the average.

THUS, another value of an environment rich in variety of opportunity emerges. Not only does it enable each learner to

select and absorb what he most needs for his optimum development, but, at the same time, it *provides a diagnostic situation by which types and degrees of aptitude are revealed*. Such a situation will be of particular value in the conditions of secondary education proposed by the new Act.

HOWEVER, differentiation of the curriculum in type and degree of difficulty introduces a social problem. Certain types of subject-matter have carried a high social prestige as well as possible educational values. This has been true of the mathematical-linguistic group of studies in the past. It may quite easily become true of science and technology in the future. These social aspects of special studies are accentuated if the differentiation of the curriculum is accompanied by a segregation of schools, e.g., into the suggested grammar, technical, and 'modern' schools. We must have differentiation of curricula to accord with differences in bent and degree of aptitude during the secondary period of schooling, but in order to avoid social segregation it seems desirable that the differentiation be arranged within the same institution so far as this is possible. In this connection, Sir Graham Savage's contribution in which he discussed the organisation and administration of Comprehensive High Schools (that is High Schools to accommodate *all* the pupils of secondary school age in a given neighbourhood) was most interesting and valuable. We must note, however, that the problem in sparsely populated rural districts is very much more difficult to solve than in densely populated urban areas.

VII

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND SYNTHESIS

THIS final topic is too complex to be treated summarily. One can only allude to certain broad principles which seem to be involved. RELIGION has to do with an attitude and a way of life. Doctrine is an attempt to define the attitude and justify the way of life. It seems obvious that religious experience cannot be restricted to the act of worship, nor can religious education be

encompassed completely by doctrinal instruction. Sooner or later, the relation between religious experience and the economic and social environment must be faced with candour particularly in later adolescence when social interests are strong. As with other aspects of life and belief, although religious experience and religious knowledge must incorporate universal components, nevertheless any particular individual's experience and beliefs must be a function of his culture-pattern. It would seem, therefore, that one objective in religious education must be to make the individual *aware* of the local and relative as well as the universal aspects of his experience. This would appear to be a necessary condition for the attitude of religious toleration. Further, in all religious instruction, the doctrines and sacred writings characteristic of any sect or church should be presented in close relation to the economic and social environment, and the state of positive knowledge in the epoch in which they were elaborated. This, I would suggest, is the only way in which the book of Genesis, for example, can be made intelligible and acceptable to scientifically trained youth at the present time. Doctrine and Holy Writ are serious answers to serious questions, and they represent proposed solutions to contemporary problems. As such they are not intelligible apart from the questions and problems which provoked them in the first place.

It follows from this that religious instruction is not anybody's field. Members of the conference were agreed on two matters at least, namely, that religious instruction must be the responsibility of teachers who believe sincerely in their subject; and that, beside courage and intellectual honesty, the effective conduct of religious instruction requires *adequate knowledge of the sociological and intellectual settings of the scriptures*. In fact the teacher of religious instruction needs as long and careful preparation as is given to the teacher of classics, science, or any other aspect of knowledge.

THE LIFE OF FRÉDÉRIC LE PLAY

By

DOROTHY HERBERTSON

EDITED BY

VICTOR BRANFORD

and

ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON

LE PLAY HOUSE PRESS,
LEDBURY, HEREFORDSHIRE.

First complete publication in 1950 as Section 2, Volume XXXVIII (1946) of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.

Also issued separately, with Index, 1950 (1,000 copies).

All rights reserved.

The Le Play House Press is the publishing department of the Institute of Sociology. The issue of this publication by the Le Play House Press does not imply that the Institute of Sociology officially approves or takes responsibility for statements of fact or opinion.

FOREWORD

The publication of this work in the present year is an attempt to atone—very late in the day—for an unfortunate decision made by the late Victor Branford when Editor of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.

In an editorial statement on the first page of the twelfth volume of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*¹ appears this passage:—

“An English biography of Leplay² has long been wanting. The late Mrs. Herbertson undertook many years ago to supply the deficiency. With not a little aid from her husband (the late Professor of Geography in Oxford, who was a devoted student of Le Play) Mrs. Herbertson completed her task. The Manuscript³ was placed for a final revision in the hands of the Editor of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.⁴ It is with sorrow that he now expresses deep regrets at not having completed the revision before the death of Mrs. Herbertson. The work, however, is now ready for publication, and a first instalment appears in this number of the *REVIEW*.”⁵

So far there has not been found among Branford's papers any other record that throws light upon the origin of Mrs. Herbertson's work. Nor have I the date at which it was completed; statements at the end of the last chapter suggest that this must have fallen between 1897 and 1899.⁶

The script prepared by Mrs. Herbertson came into Branford's hands some time between 1899 and 1914.⁷ He stated on many occasions that it had been given him for revision in the hope that he would find an opportunity of publishing it. There was no suggestion about time, place or method of publication; it would, however, have been known to Mrs. Herbertson that he was one of the “Colleagues” associated with Patrick Geddes in an Edinburgh venture for publishing books and papers relating in some respects to the Le Play tradition: and also perhaps that he had established connections with publishers in London.

¹ *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Volume XII, No. 1 (Spring, 1920), p. 1.

² Branford's form (instead of Le Play) which he explained as a step towards the popularisation of Le Play's name and work in English-speaking countries. See footnote on p. 36 of *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* as cited above.

³ I have not seen a Manuscript; this suggests, however, that the typescript from which I have worked is not the original script.

⁴ I.e., Victor Branford.

⁵ Chapters I and II were printed on pp. 36–42 of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* as cited above. On p. 42 is also a list of Main Dates in the life of Le Play, stated to be reprinted from *THE COMING POLITY* (1st edition) by Branford and Geddes. See p. 116 below for a revised list.

⁶ See Chapter XVI, p. 114, Demolins' work on the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons had been published in French, and an English translation “will shortly appear”. The book appeared in France in 1897; the English translation that I have seen (by Lavigne) was published in 1899, but is stated to be the 2nd edition.

⁷ “Sometime before the war”, Branford's verbal statement to me about 1919. This may, however, have implied discussion or correspondence about the use of the script—not its transfer to him at that time.

First complete publication in 1950 as Section 2, Volume XXXVIII (1946) of the SOCIOLOGICAL
REVIEW.

Also issued separately, with Index, 1950 (1,000 copies).

All rights reserved.

The Le Play House Press is the publishing department of the Institute of Sociology. The
issue of this publication by the Le Play House Press does not imply that the Institute of
Sociology officially approves or takes responsibility for statements of fact or opinion.

FOREWORD

The publication of this work in the present year is an attempt to atone—very late in the day—for an unfortunate decision made by the late Victor Branford when Editor of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.

In an editorial statement on the first page of the twelfth volume of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*¹ appears this passage:—

"An English biography of Leplay² has long been wanting. The late Mrs. Herbertson undertook many years ago to supply the deficiency. With not a little aid from her husband (the late Professor of Geography in Oxford, who was a devoted student of Le Play) Mrs. Herbertson completed her task. The Manuscript³ was placed for a final revision in the hands of the Editor of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.⁴ It is with sorrow that he now expresses deep regrets at not having completed the revision before the death of Mrs. Herbertson. The work, however, is now ready for publication, and a first instalment appears in this number of the *REVIEW*."⁵

So far there has not been found among Branford's papers any other record that throws light upon the origin of Mrs. Herbertson's work. Nor have I the date at which it was completed; statements at the end of the last chapter suggest that this must have fallen between 1897 and 1899.⁶

The script prepared by Mrs. Herbertson came into Branford's hands some time between 1899 and 1914.⁷ He stated on many occasions that it had been given him for revision in the hope that he would find an opportunity of publishing it. There was no suggestion about time, place or method of publication; it would, however, have been known to Mrs. Herbertson that he was one of the "Colleagues" associated with Patrick Geddes in an Edinburgh venture for publishing books and papers relating in some respects to the Le Play tradition: and also perhaps that he had established connections with publishers in London.

¹ *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Volume XII, No. 1 (Spring, 1920), p. 1.

² Branford's form (instead of Le Play) which he explained as a step towards the popularisation of Le Play's name and work in English-speaking countries. See footnote on p. 36 of *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* as cited above.

³ I have not seen a Manuscript; this suggests, however, that the typescript from which I have worked is not the original script.

⁴ I.e., Victor Branford.

⁵ Chapters I and II were printed on pp. 36–42 of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* as cited above. On p. 42 is also a list of Main Dates in the life of Le Play, stated to be reprinted from *THE COMING POLITY* (1st edition) by Branford and Geddes. See p. 116 below for a revised list.

⁶ See Chapter XVI, p. 114, Demolins' work on the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons had been published in French, and an English translation "will shortly appear". The book appeared in France in 1897; the English translation that I have seen (by Lavigne) was published in 1899, but is stated to be the 2nd edition.

⁷ "Sometime before the war", Branford's verbal statement to me about 1919. This may, however, have implied discussion or correspondence about the use of the script—not its transfer to him at that time.

At the end of the first world war Branford (who had then organised the issue of a series of books on the **MAKING OF THE FUTURE** which was moderately successful) believed that the opportunity for the publication of this **LIFE OF LE PLAY** had come. Accordingly he printed Chapters I to IV in the **SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW**.⁸

It was a marked feature of Branford's character that he was apt to expect an immediate and widespread response to the expression or publication of ideas that had been significant for him in the development of his sociological system; and this in spite of the fact that he had invariably been disappointed. The response in this case followed the usual lines: no one, except friends and disciples ("already converted", as Branford remarked) paid any attention; Branford was plunged in depression; he discontinued the publication after Chapter IV.

It was a year or two before this that I had begun to give serious attention to **Le Play**: I had commended the publication and regretted that it was discontinued. A little later Branford passed over the typescript to me and I read the whole with profit. **Le Play House** had been established by Branford and his wife (Sybella Gurney) in 1919-20 and I had been concerned in its welfare from an early stage. It soon became clear to me that we should have available some statement that would answer the questions of serious students about the person after whom the house was named: and for that we turned to Mrs. Herbertson's typescript. The first four chapters of this had disappeared in the process of printing; we replaced these by freshly typed copies of the prints in the **SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW**, bound up the whole and placed the volume in our Library. From that time it has been constantly in use, and has proved of great value to many students and research workers. Requests for loan of the volume have come from many quarters, including Universities in the United States. After a year or two we were obliged to meet the demand by having additional typescript copies prepared.

While Victor Branford had found his experience of publication disappointing, I have an impression that he still thought himself under some obligation to arrange this at some undefined time in the future. In his later years, his mind was fully occupied with his own books; no doubt this made it impossible for him to give serious attention to the **Le Play** script. I believe, however, that the present publication discharges an obligation that he felt he had undertaken and is therefore a contribution towards the fulfilment of the duty placed upon the Institute of Sociology to arrange and publish (where suitable) the papers left by him.

Branford's statement that the script had been given to him for "revision" has been quoted above. How far he had been able to carry this revision is suggested

⁸ **SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW**, Volume XII (1920), pp. 36 and 108: Volume XIII (1921), p. 46. In this and succeeding paragraphs I draw upon my memories of conversations with Branford, with whom I was in very close contact from 1920 onwards.

by a perusal of chapters V to XVI in the script, i.e., the chapters not published in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*. In these some corrections and changes by him appear in pencil in the typescript: in some cases typing errors are put right; in most cases the changes are in expression or style; very few deal with matters of substance. As a young man Branford had been master of a vigorous and vivid literary style; his critical sense compelled him to attempt to raise Mrs. Herbertson's quiet expression nearer to his own temperature. Since so few of his changes are substantial I have in nearly every case returned to Mrs. Herbertson's original words. It will be understood that Chapters I to IV embody the revision that Branford thought suitable as the original typescripts have disappeared and these follow the prints in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.

There was, however, an obvious need for fresh revision of the script in certain particulars. Mrs. Herbertson had faced a difficult problem in translating some of the words that Le Play adopted as scientific terms. *Patronage* she gave up as untranslatable: for others, used to cover family budget details and to express some types of social organisation and activity, she found equivalents; but some of these have a tentative air, and I fancy she would have welcomed discussion and alteration. Further, she left tentative or open the translation of some common French names of crafts and occupations, and of some proper names. Her use of the word "racial" might lead to confusion between physical and social inheritance; and the words "community" and "communist" as used in the text sound strangely here and now.

I have tried to keep necessary revision within narrow limits and have aimed at being intelligible rather than consistent. I have everywhere restored the correct form of the subject's name—Le Play. Typing errors in the script have been corrected, some names and words have been translated afresh, a few redundant sentences and phrases have been removed and some small additions made (including footnotes distinguished by initials). I have not, however, tried to deal with every case of possible misunderstanding over such words as "racial" and "community".

Mrs. Herbertson's work, as printed here, is about fifty years old; and serious readers may well ask whether a more radical revision might not have been undertaken before publication at this date. It would of course have been possible to revise the substance of the text, or to leave that as it stands and add footnotes in full revision of it. I have not been attracted to either of these courses; the former might have involved re-writing the whole: the latter might have brought about that frequent contradiction between text and footnote that often seems irritating and wasteful. I believe I have taken the correct course in printing Mrs. Herbertson's words as precisely as may be and laying some emphasis here on the date at which the book was written. By taking this course the value of the book as a historical document is maintained. It reveals the attitude of a convinced follower of

Le Play at its date, and therefore gives an "inside" view of its subject as nothing written today could do.

Writing such a book to-day, it would be pleasant to record the still growing interest in Le Play's work and the signs now evident of a fuller understanding of its implications.⁹ A contemporary student of Le Play would, however, be unable to view many matters as Mrs. Herbertson does. He would, for example, have to reconsider the Le Play theories of origins in the light of pre-history as we are now beginning to realise it. He would scarcely be able to agree with the simple view found here of primitive American society. He would have to ponder the changes in economic conditions since the original was written, e.g., the great increase in the proportion of wage-paid labour. Indeed, he might find the whole a little out of focus: he would certainly feel the need for a deeper study of Le Play's method and presuppositions. He would, I fancy, be a little disturbed by the activities and achievements of some of the Le Play camp followers and fellow travellers: e.g., the Pétainists in France with their "Family, Labour, Fatherland" formula. He would have to record the virtual break-up of the two French schools of disciples and students, while he would also register the widespread acceptance of some of their ideas and formulæ. Perhaps the present interest in the social group, and the adaptation of Le Play methods to its study, might appeal to him as one of the most promising points to the future.

This Foreword must not close without an acknowledgment of my heavy debts to several colleagues and friends. To the late Victor Branford I owe my introduction to Le Play and much enlightenment on his major ideas. I shall never be able to repay Miss C. V. Butler for her unflagging interest in Le Play and her encouragement in the project of printing this work, as well as for her kindness in reading the proofs with great care and making many useful suggestions. Dr. Phyllis Aykroyd has put her admirable French scholarship at my disposal to help with linguistic and historical points; and the Hon. Alice Wemyss has allowed me to call on her intimate knowledge of France and French life in revising the earlier chapters. Professor Allaway of Vaughan College, Leicester, has (I think, without knowing it) greatly encouraged me by his interest in Le Play's work, and suggestions for making it better known in this country.

The typescript of Mrs. Herbertson's work is in the Le Play House Library and available for consultation by students.

ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON.

⁹ Elton Mayo's work is a good example.

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH*

"WHATEVER I may have done in this matter," wrote Cardinal Manning at the end of the great dock strike of 1889, "has been due to the counsels and teaching of my illustrious master, Le Play". Who then was Le Play? The ordinary English reader does not know, but remarks that the name sounds French.

If we ask the ordinary Frenchman he can tell us little more. One man knows, for instance, that Le Play was a Senator and *Grand Officier* of the Legion of Honour; another thinks that he was rather a conservative and old-fashioned person and a devout Catholic; a third remembers he was very distinguished in his own sciences of mineralogy and metallurgy; another has heard something about him in connection with the Great Exhibition; another knows that he had travelled a great deal; someone else thinks he wrote something about the working classes. These answers do not, it is true, explain what Le Play had to do with Cardinal Manning and the dock strike, but their diversity shows at least that he was a man of varied activities and that he must in his time have played a notable part in the world.

PIERRE FRÉDÉRIC GUILLAUME LE PLAY was born on April 11th, 1806, at La Rivière Saint Sauveur, a village of some size on the left bank of the Seine, between the port of Honfleur and the forest of Brotonne. His father, who died while he was still a child, held an unimportant post in the revenue service. His mother was a woman of great strength of character and of a profoundly religious nature. Her influence over her son was deep and permanent, and may be measured by the intensity of his own religious convictions throughout his life.

THE little boy was born in stirring times, full of glory to the few, and of misery to the many. The prolonged struggle between France and England had ruined the fishing industry of the Norman coast, and the child's earliest memories were of the privations of that simple, honest, frugal fisher folk. The story may be told in his own words.

"My earliest memories," he writes, "carry me back to the sufferings of the fishing community at the hands of the British fleet, which kept the whole coast blockaded; to the constant agitation caused by the action of stragglers from the fleet which made frequent descents on our coasts either to commit acts of aggression or to smuggle contraband goods; and to the sudden moves my father was called upon to make to frustrate such attempts. The old sailors consoled themselves for these humiliations by fighting over again the victories won in the war which ended in 1793. I was never weary of listening to their tales, and it was at their hearths that I learned my first lessons of patriotism. As soon as my little limbs were strong

* To give a framework for the biographical material in this and succeeding chapters, a list of dates is given on p. 116.—A.F.

enough for the task I made one of the troops of children who day by day brought to their poverty-stricken homes such booty as they had got on gleaning, fishing, hunting or fruit-gathering excursions. I threw myself so eagerly into these pursuits, which have often been the recreations of my later years, that, with the assistance of my comrades, I soon gained sufficient skill to enable me to contribute somewhat to our modest resources. Never shall I forget with what indescribable pleasure I shared in an attack which we made with our sticks on a shoal of shad stranded at low water in a shallow just in front of La Vacquerie, on the outskirts of the forest."

THIS was in the spring of 1810, when the little boy was only four years old. In the following winter, which was long and severe, his work was to collect firewood and other fuel, and as a reward his mother helped him to read a "big book", in which he was greatly interested. The hard lessons of these childish years were never forgotten. The child learned, and the man remembered, that the wealth of a family is measured not by money but by that body of collective resources which later was called "real wages". Firewood, fruits and similar wild produce are a veritable treasure trove to many a struggling family, and a scanty wage goes further when eked out in this way. Not least among the misfortunes of the city poor is the fact that they are obliged to buy everything out of their earnings. Had the Norman fisher folk been in a similar case, most of them must have starved.

IN 1811 Le Play's father died, worn out by the struggles and hardships of his life. This event brought to Honfleur a sister of the dead man, who had married well and was living in Paris in the *rue de Grammont*. The marriage had proved childless, and the charm and intelligence of the little fellow, now entering his sixth year, so delighted both husband and wife that they carried him back with them to Paris. There the boy spent the next four years. Great indeed was the change, from poverty to affluence, and from the little fishing village to the splendour of the capital. But the child's heart sank at the first sight of Paris. He pined for the forests and orchards and fishing boats of his beloved Normandy, and, above all, for the freedom of his country life. The happy reading lessons out of the "big book" at his mother's knee were exchanged for the stupid drill of a bad school at which for the next four years he was supremely miserable. Forty children were shut up for seven hours a day in one close room, and if a hapless scholar grew sleepy or inattentive in the poisoned air his wandering attention was sharply recalled by the cane. The little prisoner, who had been so quick to learn the country lore when he had something real to do and a good reason for doing it, and who had been the friend of every boy and girl and every man and woman at home, learned nothing worth while at this wretched school and made not a single friend.

FORTUNATELY his home was happy and his education there was a reasonable one. His uncle and aunt were persons of culture as well as of wealth, and their house

was the resort of a society in which there lingered much of the polished wit, the intellectual culture, and the social grace of the *ancien régime*. "Night after night," writes Le Play, "my uncle, a man about fifty, used to gather together old school-fellows, men born in a good position, who, less fortunate than himself, had found themselves after the disasters of the Revolution without either family or fortune. They were bound together by a friendship dating from their schooldays, by a common love of literature, and by a deep interest in those international developments which were then proceeding with such extraordinary rapidity. These ties were cemented by a spirit of patriotism which grew stronger as our national independence was more and more compromised by the reverses of our armies. Other attractions were an excellent and hospitable table, a fine collection of books which formed the chief ornament of the salon, reading, conversation, the presence of visitors from abroad, and an occasional game of cards. Such a *milieu* was well fitted to stimulate my intelligence. After my second winter my passion for reading, which my relations judiciously kept within limits, helped me to forget the physical weariness of city life. I was made the librarian of our little group. On occasion I took the fourth hand at the card table to everybody's satisfaction."

AMONG his uncle's friends were two who felt a special interest in the boy and devoted themselves, more or less systematically, to his education. This they endeavoured to do, partly by directing his reading, and partly by answering the strings of questions which arose out of the books he read or the conversations he overheard. The surnames of these gentlemen he never knew, for his uncle always called them by their first names. One, of whom he speaks as The Scholar, was an ex-magistrate, who had been forced to earn his living as a teacher, both in France and abroad. His love of literature amounted to a passion, and his talent for reading aloud contributed not a little to the success of many a pleasant evening. In politics he was an admirer of Rousseau, the Encyclopædists and the Girondins. The other was The Gentleman, also by birth a man of fortune and family, who had lost everything at the Revolution except his life, which he had saved by expatriating himself. His exile had been spent in Germany, and he had conceived the warmest admiration for the people and institutions of that country. His favourite theme was the salutary influence of religion on individual happiness and national prosperity. To the spread of irreligion and the decay of the governing classes he attributed the storm of revolution which had burst upon France, sweeping all before it. He had seen with his own eyes the corruption of many of the French refugees at Coblenz, Cologne, and other German towns, and he maintained that it had gone far to justify the excesses of the Revolution even in the eyes of the nation which had granted its victims hospitality. His third "master", to use Le Play's own phrase, was his uncle, who represented a third phase of opinion. Not less convinced than the others of the bankruptcy of the *ancien régime*, financially and morally, he looked to Napoleon as the saviour

of France, not merely on account of his administrative capacity. All three were well-bred men of the world, types, each in his own way, of what had been best in old France. From such teachers the boy imbibed a passionate love of literature and history and that fine sense of honour which makes *noblesse oblige* its watchword. This, he heard daily, was the spirit which should animate the noble and wealthy, and that had it not been well-nigh dead in France that unhappy country would have been spared the horrors of the Revolution. All this made a lasting impression on his mind and doubtless led him in after years to lay so much stress on the influence and responsibilities of owners of land and employers of labour.

SUCH a life, however, congenial as it was in many ways, was too serious and sedentary for a child. The summers broke in upon it and brought him back from the world of books and speculation to the world of observation. They were spent in the country, where the boy betook himself with joy to his old pursuits, helping gardener, shepherd, woodcutter, fisher and hunter in their work and in gathering the lore of their craft. Thus unconsciously, he was fitting himself to look at life, not with the unseeing eye of the student accustomed only to the printed page, but with the understanding eye of one to whom its activities were familiar from long experience.

THE death of his uncle in 1815 broke up the home in Paris, and Frédéric, now in his tenth year, returned to his own village. The downfall of Napoleon had put an end to the war and had restored prosperity to Normandy. For the next seven years Le Play lived with his mother, taking the humanity classes at the *Collège du Havre* and preparing for his *baccalauréat*. His leisure hours were spent in botanising, hunting and fishing, and making long excursions about the busy industrial district of the Lower Seine. He graduated as *bachelier-ès-lettres* in 1823.

CHAPTER II

LEHRJAHRE

So far the education of Le Play had been singularly harmonious and complete. Born at a critical moment in the history of his country, wherein the horrors of foreign war were added to the internal dissensions and hatreds bequeathed by the Revolution, he had seen the gradual return of peace and prosperity. Urban and rural, academic and domestic influences had been happily blended in his early life. During the years devoted to the humanities, his long country tramps kept him in touch with the realities of life by bringing him into constant contact with the busy outdoor life of fisher and farmer, whose work never ceases because the seasons never cease. The immense faith of Le Play in the forces which make the world comes from this early familiarity with the world-old, eternally young activities of country life. Had he lived out his boyhood in Paris he might have been a great

economist and statistician, but assuredly not the author of *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS*.

THE time had now come for the young man to choose his profession. He had amused himself in his leisure by a little land-surveying, for which he showed so much aptitude that a surveyor who had given him a few lessons offered to take him into his business and subsequently to retire in his favour. The gentleman in question was old, and the business was a good one. If such a career offered few possibilities of distinction at least it ensured a comfortable living for his mother and himself. Le Play hesitated for some time, unwilling either to refuse or accept. While he was trying to make up his mind a college friend who was preparing to enter the *École Polytechnique* urged him to follow his example and employ his undoubted talents to better purpose. This Le Play was strongly inclined to do, but a modest opinion of his own abilities held him back. For advice he turned to an old friend of the family, M. Dan de la Vauterie, a civil engineer at St. Lô. After a month's probation M. de la Vauterie assured him that he need not fear to choose the more difficult career.

THE next few months Le Play spent at St. Lô in the house of M. Dan de la Vauterie, and an affection of the warmest character sprang up between the two. M. Dan de la Vauterie was unmarried and he watched his young pupil with fatherly interest. The young man, on his side, felt an almost reverential admiration for his master.

THE life at St. Lô was one of plain living and high thinking. The habits of M. Dan de la Vauterie were simple in the extreme. His house was a quaint, old-fashioned one, surrounded by a big garden. Books were everywhere, and the small private fortune which M. de la Vauterie possessed in addition to his professional income went to enrich the shelves of his fine library. Master and pupil began work at four in the morning, and employed themselves with professional work till two in the afternoon. At four they betook themselves to the library, which served as a *salon*, and spent the hours in social, scientific and literary studies, retiring about nine. Montaigne and Cicero were the old scholar's favourite authors, but reading was often laid aside for criticism and comment. The master would pause to draw a parallel between the corruption of the Valois and of the Bourbons, or to defend his dear Montaigne from the charge of scepticism. Le Play, like every ardent boy, caught his master's enthusiasm and throughout his life Montaigne remained one of his favourite authors.

FOR M. Dan de la Vauterie such studies were not an intellectual luxury but a religious obligation. One of his favourite maxims was that in the absence of a traditional aristocracy the duty of devoting themselves to the service of the state devolved upon the engineers. In his life at St. Lô, therefore, and in his intercourse with M. Dan de la Vauterie, there was much to recall and deepen Le Play's childish

impressions of his uncle's home. There were the same cultured tastes, the same free discussion of social and moral problems, the same high ideal of social service. The happy months flew by too quickly in the quiet home of M. de la Vauterie and brought the time for entering the *École Polytechnique*.

AFTER a special course of mathematics at the *Lycée Saint-Louis*, Le Play entered the *École Polytechnique* in October 1825. He speedily distinguished himself, and two years later passed out fourth on the general list and first on the list for the *École des Mines*.

THESE two years formed a great contrast to the happy months at St. Lô. The genial companionship of M. de la Vauterie and the freedom of his pleasant home were exchanged for the galling restraints and barrack-like organisation of the *École Polytechnique*. "The remembrance of my sufferings under this system," wrote Le Play long after, "after the freedom to which I had been accustomed from my earliest years has never been effaced from my mind". In later years he criticised this mechanical system with great severity. The true tradition of education as it existed in the old university of Paris had been sacrificed under the bureaucratic régime of the Revolution and of the Empire. Of old, the teacher was not so much a master as a kindly friend, and discipline was maintained chiefly by an appeal to the sense of honour, which was a tradition handed on from generation to generation of students. The ideals of the Revolution, and still more the needs of the Empire, found expression in a mechanical discipline which destroyed the sense of individual responsibility in both masters and pupils. It was well fitted, no doubt, to turn out a set of functionaries, but it crushed individuality by affording no scope for personal initiative.

It was a welcome relief, therefore, to pass in 1827 to the *École des Mines*. "It was with joy," writes Le Play, "that I escaped from the servitude of the barrack and the class-room, which had paralysed my faculties. In my new instructors I found at once masters and friends, and under the influence of their kindly interest I set myself to give them satisfaction. In this endeavour I was fortunate enough to succeed." The truth thus modestly stated was that he was not only a most brilliant but a most painstaking scholar. Both by nature and education he was too much in earnest in all he undertook to waste his time or do things by halves. At the same time his genial temperament and his early intimacy with men of wide culture saved him from degenerating into a prig or a bookworm.

His life was much like that of any other hard-working Paris student of small means. He lodged with some of his fellow students in the *Hôtel du Luxembourg*, in what is now the *rue Royer-Collard*. Such hotels in the Latin Quarter are by no means luxurious. He took his meals at the famous students' restaurant kept by *Rousseau l'Aquatique*, now gone and well-nigh forgotten, but of great name and fame in

the early years of that century, as readers of Victor Hugo may perhaps remember. When not at work in his little room, which was at once bedroom and study, he was usually to be found in the chemical laboratory of the *École des Mines*, where he was noted for the neatness and excellence of his practical work. "In my own time, five years later," writes one of his friends, "the analysis he made of tourmaline was still remembered. It lasted two months, and we often consulted the entry referring to it in the laboratory journal."

At the end of his second year Le Play came out at the head of the school, with a total never before gained even by a fourth-year student. He was excused from further study—a distinction conferred for the first and last time in the history of the school—and received a special letter of congratulation from M. Becquey, Director-General of the Department of Engineering and Mining. This was not the first mark of interest bestowed on him by this gentleman. Attracted by Le Play's reputation as a student of exceptional promise, he had frequently invited him to his house, and had encouraged him to converse freely. In this way he learned that this exceptionally brilliant young student was by no means wholly engrossed by the profession in which he promised to distinguish himself, but was at least as much interested in social questions.

This interest was the basis of one of the warmest friendships of Le Play's life. At the *École des Mines* he made the acquaintance of Jean Reynaud, who afterwards acquired some celebrity as the author of a volume of mystical religious philosophy entitled *TERRE ET CIEL*. Reynaud, who was Le Play's senior as a student, was a young man of considerable literary and poetical talent, and joined great imaginative power to a somewhat masterful character. The two young men were attracted to each other by the similarity of their interests and the dissimilarity of their minds. Both were fond of country life and occupations, interested in social questions and eager to devote themselves to the service of their country. Reynaud's speculations, however, were always abstract and often mystical, while Le Play's imagination was of the scientific type and held in check by his logical faculty. Reynaud was an enthusiastic disciple of Saint-Simon, and generally of the new school of politics, social science and literature. Le Play was more cautious and conservative, somewhat inclined to distrust the eloquence of the new school, and to maintain that new truths—when true—were but old truths re-discovered. The only way to proceed, he maintained, was as they did in the laboratory by means of minute and scientific analysis. A discriminating study of concrete facts should guide them in their efforts towards social reform.

UNDER the green trees of the Luxembourg Gardens, sacred to the reveries and dreams of so many generations of students, the two young men discussed almost every subject under heaven. Never, indeed, can the present have seemed more

impressions of his uncle's home. There were the same cultured tastes, the same free discussion of social and moral problems, the same high ideal of social service. The happy months flew by too quickly in the quiet home of M. de la Vauterie and brought the time for entering the *École Polytechnique*.

AFTER a special course of mathematics at the *Lycée Saint-Louis*, Le Play entered the *École Polytechnique* in October 1825. He speedily distinguished himself, and two years later passed out fourth on the general list and first on the list for the *École des Mines*.

THESE two years formed a great contrast to the happy months at St. Lô. The genial companionship of M. de la Vauterie and the freedom of his pleasant home were exchanged for the galling restraints and barrack-like organisation of the *École Polytechnique*. "The remembrance of my sufferings under this system," wrote Le Play long after, "after the freedom to which I had been accustomed from my earliest years has never been effaced from my mind". In later years he criticised this mechanical system with great severity. The true tradition of education as it existed in the old university of Paris had been sacrificed under the bureaucratic régime of the Revolution and of the Empire. Of old, the teacher was not so much a master as a kindly friend, and discipline was maintained chiefly by an appeal to the sense of honour, which was a tradition handed on from generation to generation of students. The ideals of the Revolution, and still more the needs of the Empire, found expression in a mechanical discipline which destroyed the sense of individual responsibility in both masters and pupils. It was well fitted, no doubt, to turn out a set of functionaries, but it crushed individuality by affording no scope for personal initiative.

It was a welcome relief, therefore, to pass in 1827 to the *École des Mines*. "It was with joy," writes Le Play, "that I escaped from the servitude of the barrack and the class-room, which had paralysed my faculties. In my new instructors I found at once masters and friends, and under the influence of their kindly interest I set myself to give them satisfaction. In this endeavour I was fortunate enough to succeed." The truth thus modestly stated was that he was not only a most brilliant but a most painstaking scholar. Both by nature and education he was too much in earnest in all he undertook to waste his time or do things by halves. At the same time his genial temperament and his early intimacy with men of wide culture saved him from degenerating into a prig or a bookworm.

His life was much like that of any other hard-working Paris student of small means. He lodged with some of his fellow students in the *Hôtel du Luxembourg*, in what is now the *rue Royer-Collard*. Such hotels in the Latin Quarter are by no means luxurious. He took his meals at the famous students' restaurant kept by *Rousseau l'Aquatique*, now gone and well-nigh forgotten, but of great name and fame in

the early years of that century, as readers of Victor Hugo may perhaps remember. When not at work in his little room, which was at once bedroom and study, he was usually to be found in the chemical laboratory of the *École des Mines*, where he was noted for the neatness and excellence of his practical work. "In my own time, five years later," writes one of his friends, "the analysis he made of tourmaline was still remembered. It lasted two months, and we often consulted the entry referring to it in the laboratory journal."

At the end of his second year Le Play came out at the head of the school, with a total never before gained even by a fourth-year student. He was excused from further study—a distinction conferred for the first and last time in the history of the school—and received a special letter of congratulation from M. Becquey, Director-General of the Department of Engineering and Mining. This was not the first mark of interest bestowed on him by this gentleman. Attracted by Le Play's reputation as a student of exceptional promise, he had frequently invited him to his house, and had encouraged him to converse freely. In this way he learned that this exceptionally brilliant young student was by no means wholly engrossed by the profession in which he promised to distinguish himself, but was at least as much interested in social questions.

THIS interest was the basis of one of the warmest friendships of Le Play's life. At the *École des Mines* he made the acquaintance of Jean Reynaud, who afterwards acquired some celebrity as the author of a volume of mystical religious philosophy entitled *TERRE ET CIEL*. Reynaud, who was Le Play's senior as a student, was a young man of considerable literary and poetical talent, and joined great imaginative power to a somewhat masterful character. The two young men were attracted to each other by the similarity of their interests and the dissimilarity of their minds. Both were fond of country life and occupations, interested in social questions and eager to devote themselves to the service of their country. Reynaud's speculations, however, were always abstract and often mystical, while Le Play's imagination was of the scientific type and held in check by his logical faculty. Reynaud was an enthusiastic disciple of Saint-Simon, and generally of the new school of politics, social science and literature. Le Play was more cautious and conservative, somewhat inclined to distrust the eloquence of the new school, and to maintain that new truths—when true—were but old truths re-discovered. The only way to proceed, he maintained, was as they did in the laboratory by means of minute and scientific analysis. A discriminating study of concrete facts should guide them in their efforts towards social reform.

UNDER the green trees of the Luxembourg Gardens, sacred to the reveries and dreams of so many generations of students, the two young men discussed almost every subject under heaven. Never, indeed, can the present have seemed more

full of possibilities, the future more full of hope, than to a student in Paris in 1829. The air was full of schemes of social reform. The great romantic movement in literature was just beginning. Lamartine, Béranger and Alfred de Vigny were already poets of established fame. Only two years before Victor Hugo had published his famous preface to *CROMWELL*, in which he threw down the gauntlet to the classical school. The next year was to see the production of *HERNANI* and *NOTRE DAME DE PARIS* by the same great author: *LE ROUGE ET LE NOIR* of Stendhal, the *INDIANA* of George Sand, the *ROLLA* of Alfred de Musset, and the *MADemoiselle DE MAUPIN* of Gautier, were all to follow within the next five years.

At last the two young men came, not to a decision, but to an agreement as to their course of action. Students of the *École des Mines* were obliged to make two scientific journeys before finishing their course. Le Play proposed to Reynaud that they should visit North Germany together and test their social theories as well as widen their technical knowledge. The choice of Germany was Le Play's, and was doubtless due to his remembrance of The Gentleman's glowing accounts of its people and institutions. Reynaud readily fell in with the suggestion, which was that they should study not only the theory and practice of metallurgy, but also find out as much as they could of its social organization.

THE kindly interest of M. Becquey now stood them in good stead. They went to him with their scheme and set forth its merits, no doubt with all the grandiloquence of youth. "He smiled at first," writes Le Play, "at the confidence with which we proposed to complete our professional training by an enquiry into the wisdom of nations but he manifested no incredulity. Indeed, I think he found the forwarding of our schemes an agreeable diversion from his public duties." At any rate, he gave the young men some useful introductions and induced the authorities to allot a larger sum than usual for travelling expenses. The rest of the money for the journey, which was necessarily an expensive one, the two friends obtained by literary and scientific work.

CHAPTER III

WANDERJAHRE

LE PLAY and Reynaud left Paris in the month of May, 1829. Their intention was to visit the mines, ironworks and forests of the districts between the Moselle, Meuse and Rhine, the North and Baltic Seas, and the mountains of the Erzgebirge, Thuringia and Hunsrueck. Their first duty, as travelling students of the *École des Mines*, was to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the mining districts of North

Germany, and thus to complete their professional training. Their intention was to visit all such establishments connected with their profession as presented models to follow or dangers to avoid. To these they were to devote such time as might be required for the observation of all essential details and for drawing up such notes as would enable them to make a full and accurate report. In the second place, they were anxious to enter into relations as close as possible with the population of the districts visited in order to distinguish between social phenomena of merely local interest and those of a wider bearing. Finally, in each district they sought to become acquainted with the wisest and most experienced men in order to observe their practice and weigh their opinions of men and things. It was indeed an ambitious programme, and may well have made M. Becquey smile.

THE journey was performed wholly on foot. Provided with a compass, and with no more luggage than sufficed for their simplest needs, they took the most direct route, by mountain, plain or forest as the case might be. The rest of their baggage, containing what they needed for their occasional intervals of city life and the ever-increasing pile of notes, was sent on to await them at the next place chosen for their headquarters. Thus they were singularly independent of the beaten track and were able to penetrate by routes otherwise inaccessible into out-of-the-way corners of the mining districts of North Germany.

LE PLAY was an ideal pedestrian. Though short, he was strongly built, and his muscles were of iron. He could eat anything, sleep anywhere and endure all weathers. At the end of a day of thirty or forty miles of hard walking he was still fresh and good-humoured and ready to make light of any discomfort. His sympathies were wide and generous, his manners pleasing, and wherever he went he made friends. Questions which would have seemed impertinent in a man of less tact gave no offence from him, and he readily obtained all the information he desired. If this appears exaggerated it should be remembered that he had been familiar from childhood with men of all classes and could talk intelligently to men of many different pursuits about their own work. His interest and skill in his own profession could be detected in everything he said, and his sincerity and frankness invited and won confidence. A man like this was not likely to be repulsed as an impertinent, inquisitive tourist.

THE journey lasted seven months. During that time the two friends covered more than 4,000 miles, walking the whole distance. The time was spent in halts for study near mines, works and other centres, or within reach of working-class families or persons of special knowledge; in excursions intended to complete such detailed studies by a general survey of the surrounding district; in geological excursions undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the distribution of mineral wealth;

in the general study of particular localities or in rapid surveys of wider areas. Reynaud, as the senior student, undertook the general management of their very simple life. Nothing occurred to cloud their friendship, which only increased as they learned to know each other better. They found, however, that their programme was too wide. They saw that the social question was infinitely more complex than they had supposed, and decided to satisfy themselves with studying it instead of attempting to solve it. Their journey brought them into contact with institutions differing widely in character and yet apparently well suited to special conditions. Le Play was more than ever convinced that the true principles of social order were discovered long ago; Reynaud no less ardently clung to the belief that humanity was steadily progressing and that most changes were for the better. Neither convinced the other, and they returned more divided in opinion and more united in affection than ever.

IF, however, they disagreed in the interpretation of the facts they were entirely at one as to the right method of investigation. They were convinced, as might have been expected from students trained in the rigorous scientific methods of the *École des Mines*, that the study of social science, like the study of every other science which aims at precision of data, must be based on observation. In this faith Le Play never wavered. "The conclusion to which I came," he writes, "was that this science, like those taught in the curriculum of our science schools, must be based, not on *a priori* conceptions, but on the methodical observation of facts and on the inductions of a rigorous logic. I began to seek the laws of social science in the knowledge of social facts." The material, he believed, was there if the observer knew how to use it. "Social science," he wrote, "can be based on surer foundations than history, for all the ages of the social world are actually alive for us at the present time." This, however, was later, after his eventful life had brought him into contact with a certain society which had changed nothing since the days of Abraham.

His journey to the Harz and the Saxon plain, therefore, did three things for him. In the first place, it confirmed his attachment to his profession and assured him that his choice had been a wise one. In the second place, it convinced him that in social science, as in the biological and physical sciences, observation and induction are to be preferred to deductions from *a priori* theories. In the third place it taught him how to travel, and thus put into his hands a powerful method of research. "Travel," he writes, "is to the science of societies what chemical analysis is to mineralogy, what field work is to botany, or, in general terms, what the observation of facts is to all the natural sciences".

THE eventful journey came to an end in November, 1829, and early in December Le Play was back again in Paris.

CHAPTER IV

PROFESSIONAL LIFE

LE PLAY's return from Germany marked the transition from youth to manhood. He had started with the adventurous spirit of youth, he returned with the settled purpose of manhood. "My journey," he wrote, "deepened my attachment to my chosen profession and convinced me that I could render myself useful to my country therein. Without losing sight of my social studies, which formed my favourite recreation, I devoted myself with increasing ardour to engineering."

THE remainder of his life was divided in unequal proportions between the two lines of study. During the next twenty years he was a metallurgist first and a sociologist second, but circumstances ultimately led him to renounce metallurgy and devote himself wholly to social science.

LE PLAY returned to Paris in December, 1829, with brilliant prospects of a brilliant career. At the outset, however, an accident occurred which for a time appeared likely to end it altogether. Early in 1830 he was experimenting with one of the potassium compounds in the laboratory of the *École des Mines* when it exploded, inflicting frightful wounds on his hands and arms. The detonation and his cries for help brought in some students, who tore off his burning clothes, extinguished the flames and improvised a bed. For a long time the wounds refused to yield to treatment, but at length, under the care of Dupuytren, the most celebrated surgeon of his day, Le Play recovered his health. His hands were disfigured for life, but fortunately they retained all their delicacy of manipulation.

THE eighteen months which followed this accident were, to use his own phrase, a period of physical and moral torture. The Revolution of 1830 broke out shortly after, and scenes of bloodshed and violence ensued. Le Play's only contact with the outer world was through the students and friends who came to sit by his sick bed. From them he learned of industrial confusion, and class hatred, and of the horrors of actual carnage. Through long sleepless nights of pain he brooded on these things, finding consolation only in the thought of the peaceful, prosperous communities of the Saxon plain among whom he had spent the preceding summer. A decisive resolution gradually took shape in his mind. "This bitter apprenticeship to suffering," he wrote long after, "and this enforced meditation seems to me now to have been one of the decisive events of my life. Then it was that I solemnly resolved, so far as in me lay, to find a remedy for the ills which afflicted my country. I took a vow to devote six months of every year to travel, for the purpose of studying metallurgy and of continuing at the same time my study of families and societies. I have been faithful to my vow."

As soon as his health was sufficiently restored Le Play set to work to complete his report of his German tour. The excellence of the form and the value of the material embodied in it made it a model for succeeding students and increased the favour with which Le Play was viewed at headquarters. He was appointed to the charge of the laboratory of the *École des Mines*, under M. Berthier, and made joint editor of the *ANNALES DES MINES*, in collaboration with M. Dufrenoy. The relations between M. Berthier and his brilliant young colleague were not very cordial, and both were glad when the arrangement came to an end.

FREED from the charge of the laboratory, Le Play was now at liberty to devote his whole time and attention to the *ANNALES DES MINES*, which had been started as the *JOURNAL DES MINES* in 1794. It had early fallen off, and its publication was discontinued in 1831. A new series, the third, was begun in 1832, and, thanks to the energy and talent which Le Play brought to work, it soon proved a great advance on its predecessors. It was better written and better illustrated, and special attention was devoted to the progress of mining science in other countries. It contained summaries of the most important contributions to British and other foreign technical journals, and every endeavour was made to keep pace with the advance of mining science in every part of Europe. Le Play continued his connection with the *ANNALES* till 1840, when he was appointed to the chair of Metallurgy at the *École des Mines*.

CHAPTER V

THE MAKING OF A SOCIOLOGIST

LE PLAY's study of sociology began, we might almost say, with his existence, or at least as far back in his childhood as his memory went. Nothing, we know on his own authority, left so deep and abiding an influence on his mind and character as the hard struggle for existence with which his earliest memory of life began. What is sport for other children was stern, earnest work for him. Every child goes hunting and fishing; few know before they are four years old what it is to contribute in a real and important way to the resources of the whole family. When this child went fishing, the fish he caught made a meal for the hungry family instead of being kept as a dainty for his own breakfast. The fuel he gathered in winter made a fire in the empty stove. Thus he grew sharp of ear and eye, nimble of foot, quick and cunning of hand. Nothing escaped his notice, for what he missed others would find and there would be less to take home that day. No better sense training could be devised for any little boy than this experience of the struggle for existence as it is felt by hunter and fisher.

THESE first hard years, therefore, did for him what years of schooling fail to do for so many of us. They taught him to use his eyes. They did more than this, however. They taught him what is meant by the social problem. It was very evident, indeed, especially to a cold and hungry little boy, that there was something very wrong when honest, hard-working, self-denying people found it a hard matter to make both ends meet. Not of course that the child reasoned about it, but we know that he wondered. But while he never forgot the sufferings of the Norman fisher folk in those hard times, their simple faith and resignation gave him his first idea of something higher than the mere satisfaction of physical needs, urgent though these might be, and helped him to understand that man does not live by bread alone.

THIS it was that unconsciously gave him faith in the higher qualities of man, and saved him in later years from that purely material conception of well-being which so often results from early privation. Even the struggle for existence, hard as it was, presented itself to his childish experience not as a selfish scramble of each for himself, but rather as the struggle of each for others. In most cases the family ministers overmuch to the selfishness of the child, but here there was a partial inversion of the usual order. The family were partly dependent upon the child, and this sank deeply into his impressionable mind and tended to give him a less selfish and more socialised conception of life. Most important of all, his early familiarity with the realities of life, with cold, with hunger, with mutual help, made it impossible for him to look at social questions other than concretely. Hence we find in his pages no such abstraction as the economic man, but actual living, working families.

As the years went by this keen-eyed hunter and fisher began to look at bird and beast other than as actual or possible quarry. The country boy grew wise in sciences of which he had never heard the name. The gatherer of wild fruits developed into the botanist, the hunter into the zoologist. One day, it may be, he picked up a stone to throw at a bird and paused to look at it, for no better reason perhaps than because he was in the habit of looking at everything. Thus would begin his interest in geology and mineralogy. In the laboratory of the *École des Mines* his habit of looking at what he saw was trained and disciplined into a habit of precise and accurate observation.

IN the course of a few years he finished his professional training and prepared to go out into the world. His business was to know all that there was to be known about mines and mining. But with his unforgettable experience of life at first hand, and his habit of looking at things and into things, it was natural that the student of mines should also be the student of miners. It must not be supposed that his interest in social matters was an outcome of his intercourse either with his honoured master at Saint Lô, or with his friend Reynaud. It was rather the cause than the

consequence of these friendships. In estimating the influences which have shaped a man we are too apt to exaggerate those of a more or less wholly intellectual kind. Too much, therefore, might easily be made of the impassioned discussions with a friend of kindred sympathies. All young men discuss social problems, as they discuss a hundred other things, good and bad. There it usually ends. The student days come to an end, the young men go into professions or offices or banks, and in the course of a few years they find that the world they were once so anxious about and to reform, is after all a very good place to get on in.

IN the case of this particular young man it did not end so and the explanation must be sought, not in the influence of this or that friendship, but in those fundamental facts of his experience already set forth. His earliest years had presented the social problem to him under the concrete form of cold and hunger, necessity had taught him to use his senses and above all his eyes, and his professional training had educated this habit into the power of analysing, classifying and explaining in scientific manner. When he started to visit the mining centres of North Germany it never occurred to him to restrict his observation merely to technical details, and thus it came about that he saw not merely mines but miners. He began to classify and explain industrial populations in precisely the way he was accustomed to in classifying industrial methods and processes. But he was something more than a mining expert; he was and had long been a naturalist. The societies which he proposed to study appeared to him, not as wheels of a vast machine, but as living working families. About them he asked the same questions as he would have asked about bird or animal. "How do they live?" "What do they eat and drink?" "What do they do?" In attempting to answer these questions and others like them he was led to that minute and detailed study of the working classes which was afterwards embodied in his great series of monographs of the working-classes of Europe.

TURNING from these permanent influences we have to notice three critical events in his life. The first was his visit to North Germany in 1829, which gave him his first clear conception of the best method of study. The second was the accident in 1830, which for a time endangered his life and cut him off from the world of men and action to meditate in helpless misery on the unhappy condition of his country. This was a spiritual crisis, such as rarely comes to a man more than once in his life and which we may therefore justly term a call or conversion. During this period of physical and moral torture Le Play solemnly consecrated half of his life in the event of his recovery to the scientific study of society with the view of discovering the laws of social health. The third great event of his life occurred when he found himself for the first time on the steppes of Russia, in contact with a society unlike any other in Europe. A new light broke over him. The problem was to explain the

origin of so many unlike societies existing together. The explanation which he offered was the same that twenty years after the biological evolutionists put forward to explain the origin of natural species, that existing societies have been developed from an original type under the influence of environment and function.

CHAPTER VI

LE PLAY AS A SOCIOLOGIST

It was not until 1848 that Le Play found himself obliged to choose between the two courses of study which he had hitherto combined. In that year the fall of Louis Philippe and the Orleans dynasty plunged France once more into the horrors of revolution. At that time Le Play was known to the world as an authority in mining science and as a capable organiser of industry on a large scale. To a smaller circle, numbering men like Montalembert, François Arago and Thiers, he was better known as a man who had thought deeply on social questions and who was acquainted with the organisation of labour and the condition of the working classes in every part of Europe.

THE crisis was not merely a political one. The fall of Louis Philippe was but one symptom of a social uneasiness which was by no means confined to France. To a large extent this uneasiness was due to the extraordinary expansion of industrialism, which had been crowded into the narrow limits of little more than half a century. The development was proceeding rapidly in every decade. Since 1830 France had passed through a period of great commercial and industrial development which had resulted in the creation of a powerful and wealthy middle class. The system of inheritance introduced at the Revolution, with its enforced division of property at the death of the holder, rendered agriculture increasingly difficult and unprofitable. The towns were gradually depopulating the country, to the detriment of both. Labour was abundant and therefore cheap. The working-classes, therefore, had gained little by the growth of industrialism, while they had suffered in ways too numerous to mention from the free competition on which the new régime was based. The new middle class felt little or no obligation towards their employees beyond the payment of a stipulated wage, and the lower classes were, in many ways, less well off than under the old régime. Then, at least in theory, every seigneur had certain duties and obligations to those who lived on his land and did his work. Poverty in the country is never so sordid or so degraded as in the town, and there were in most cases the rights claimed from time immemorial to some of the wild produce of the earth. The condition of the industrial population, overcrowded, overworked

and underpaid, was hardly better than that of the most downtrodden peasantry under the most callous seigneur. The revolutionary spirit in politics, therefore, found an ally in the prevalent social discontent. The glaring evils of the competitive system seemed to cry aloud for remedy, and men talked freely of the right of every man to labour, and of the obligation of the State to find work for him to do. Of these opinions the most prominent advocate was Louis Blanc, who shortly after the fall of the Orleans dynasty took his seat in the Provisional Government.

THIS Government now set itself to deal with the question of the organisation of industry. A committee sat at the Luxembourg under the presidency of Louis Blanc. In response to petitions urging the need of State employment it was decided to open national workshops. Thus, while the whole political fabric was still tottering from its recent shock, the champions of industrial reform undertook a task which would have put a severe strain on the administrative capacity and financial resources of the most stable government.

AT such a crisis there were still a few who preserved their cooler judgment among the storm of passion and excitement. To these it appeared that the danger most to be feared was the hasty, ill-considered action of those who were anxious to create brand-new institutions and force them on a society in no sense ripe for them. They looked round for a man whose knowledge of the relation between institutions and society would enable him to approach the problem of the organisation of labour with some appreciation of the magnitude of the issues involved. They found him in Le Play. No one of those who brought their eloquence to bear on the subject had ever made the organisation of labour an object of research, as well as of actual experiment. Le Play was induced to appear before the Luxembourg committee and describe the organisation of the Harz miners. His account of the relation of their institutions to the social organisation as a whole produced the deepest impression on his hearers. There was, however, but little in it to gratify the advocates of wholesale intervention. It was a plan for temperate and well-considered action, to be based on knowledge and research. He had no panacea to offer. On the contrary, he had a profound distrust of panaceas. The experience of twenty years had taught him that stable institutions are not the work of governments but of a variety of deep-seated, underlying causes only to be understood after long and careful study. Reforms based on theoretical considerations might look well on paper but would be found in practice to create evils worse than those they sought to remedy.

THAT Le Play was right in deprecating hasty action was soon proved by the course of events. The results which followed from the opening of national workshops were those which might have been foreseen. All over France men left their work and

rushed to enter the service of the State. Their ranks were swollen by the incorrigibly idle and the hopelessly criminal. The result was not an industrial army but a dangerous and disorderly rabble, in which a small proportion of deserving men were lost among the hundreds who desired to exploit society for their own personal advantage. It was obviously impossible to waste the resources of the State in supporting a mob of loafers who might at any moment rise and overthrow it. The national workshops were abruptly closed on June 21st. The immediate result was those scenes of horror and bloodshed known as the Four Days of June. From June 23rd to June 26th a fierce struggle was waged between the troops and the mob in the streets of Paris. Society organised on the basis of private property was fighting for its very existence.

In a struggle of such desperate issues the fiercest passions of humanity were called into play. When order was at length restored it was seen that the cause of labour had received a serious blow. Its just claims were forgotten by a society which had felt itself in the grip of utter lawlessness. Reaction was the inevitable result. Almost the only hopeful sign was that here and there men felt that hasty schemes of social reform were even more dangerous than the worst of unchecked abuses and that the method of comparative observation must be applied to the study of social problems. It was natural, therefore, that they should look to Le Play. The strongest efforts were made to induce him to resign his chair at the *École des Mines* and devote himself entirely to social science. "My old comrade, Jean Reynaud," writes Le Play, "was specially zealous in his entreaties. He had long ago abandoned the theories of Saint Simon and was now attached in the capacity of under-secretary of State to one of the departments of the Provisional Government. One of the principal leaders in this Government, M. François Arago, showed a kindly appreciation of the assistance he derived from our monographs amid the stormy debates which took place at Luxembourg. He pressed me to give my work the finishing touches necessary for publication in a complete form and awakened the interest of his colleagues of the Paris *Académie des Sciences* in my labours." M. Thiers added his entreaties and besought him to sacrifice his brilliant prospects and his beloved profession to the needs of his country.

For several years Le Play could not bring himself to make so great a sacrifice, but at length he yielded to the importunities of those whose motives he was bound to respect. He resigned his appointments at the *École des Mines*. It does not appear that he ever allowed himself to regret this step. "I felt," he writes, "that the method of observation applied in the domain of social science had set me on ground as solid in that science as that which I had before occupied in the domain of mineralogy. I never for a moment thought of turning back. It is true that I saw clearly that my new profession would have less power to charm my mind and to provide

for the future of my descendants than that which I had abandoned. At the same time I realised that it would be more useful and would prepare me to die better."

IN 1855 Le Play published the first edition of *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS*, a set of family studies, including budgets showing the receipts and expenditure of a large number of typical working-class families of different nationalities. It represented the result of twenty-five years of study and travel. The second edition, published between 1877 and 1879, brought out more clearly the significance of these observations, by applying the principle of evolution to human societies. Thus, he pointed out, under one set of conditions, the wisdom of the aged patriarch, under another, the strength of the youthful viking is the more valuable. In the same way, given the appropriate conditions, communism and private property produce equally stable types of society. Nowhere does one rigid system prevail irrespective of varying conditions.

THIS collection of family budgets was immediately recognised as a fine piece of statistical work. The *Académie des Sciences* awarded a prize and at the same time recommended that a society should be formed to carry on Le Play's method of enquiry. For this purpose the *Société d'Économie sociale* was founded in 1856.

CHAPTER VII

WORKING-CLASS BUDGETS

"THE point of departure in my work," wrote Le Play, "and the constant guide of my inductions, is a series of studies begun by me half a century ago, and since extended by younger friends to the whole of Europe, the adjoining regions of Asia, and more recently still to the rest of the world. Each study has for its object the monograph of a working-class family, the locality it inhabits and the social constitution by which it is governed."

THE basis, that is to say, of Le Play's sociology is the family or, more exactly, the working-class family. "Populations," he writes, "consist not of individuals but of families. The task of observation would be vague, indefinite and inconclusive, if in every locality it were required to extend to individuals differing in age and sex. It becomes precise, definite and conclusive when its object is the family."

By the working-classes Le Play understood all those who with their own hands perform the work which provides for the ordinary wants of society. These form either the whole society, as among populations subsisting entirely on the spontaneous produce of the earth, or at least the great majority. Where they are prosperous, society as a whole may be regarded as prosperous. The working-classes show in the

most marked manner the influence of local conditions, while the moneyed classes frequently live far from the localities from which they draw their income and even if resident they frequently remain largely exempt from local conditions, taking no part in local activities and supplying their wants from distant centres. The working-classes, on the other hand, are compelled to share in one or other of the local activities or starve. They must adopt the most economical methods of providing for their needs, and what they cannot produce for themselves they must procure on the spot. Families so closely connected with a particular set of conditions must obviously present many points of resemblance. The habits and mode of life of one working-class family are to a large extent those of every other working class family subject to the same conditions, and therefore the description of a typical family has a general as well as an individual importance.

HAVING chosen his social unit Le Play had next to determine the best method of description. This, to be of scientific value, must not only be capable of being employed with precision but must lend itself readily to purposes of comparison. A statistical method, a mode of recording facts with which Le Play was already familiar appeared to him to be the most suitable. In applying it to the description of the life of a family Le Play found it necessary to make an assumption which has been much criticised. This was that in the case of a working-class family every act, and indeed almost every important feeling, resulted more or less immediately in a receipt or an outlay. The balance sheet or budget of such a family, therefore, would, if it could be drawn up with sufficient precision, give a fairly complete description of its material and moral condition.

In choosing the family budget, however, as a graphic mode of recording his observations Le Play did not propose to confine his description of a family to the publication of its balance sheet. Figures may be eloquent, but only to those trained to comprehend their significance. For convenience in classifying miscellaneous information and convenience of reference, as well as for the sake of the general reader, a little amplification was felt to be necessary. The links uniting the family to the other elements of society—employer, the priest, the doctor, the school-master, the liberal professions and the civil authorities, must be indicated with all necessary detail. Le Play, therefore, added to each budget an introduction giving the distinctive characteristics of the family under consideration and appendices explaining and completing the budget. In his preliminary observations he analysed on a uniform plan the nature of the environment, the numbers and composition of the family, its religious and moral practices, its hygienic conditions, its rank in the hierarchy of labour, its property, its sources of subsistence, its food, shelter, furniture, occupations and recreations. This fairly exhaustive description is further amplified by a summary of the history of the family and an account of any special customs or

institutions tending to assure its physical and moral welfare. These appendices are often the most interesting and valuable part of the monograph. They deal with the general influences by which the family under consideration is affected. Choosing at random the writer opened the third volume of his *OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS* at the monograph of a Sheffield cutler. The appendices deal with (1) the social transformation of England since the middle ages; (2) the elements of social disorganisation introduced within the last century into English industrial life by the opening up of the coalfields; (3) the misconceptions current in England during the last century of the social relations of masters and servants; (4) English Friendly Societies; (5) Sheffield Trade Unions. Opening volume six we find a monograph of a Paris labourer, the father of fifteen children. The appendices deal with (1) the effects of the disorganisation of the family upon deserving individuals; (2) the relative fecundity of different sections of the working classes of Paris; (3) charitable bequests for the benefits of families distinguished by good character and fecundity; (4) want of foresight as a cause of failure in life.

HAVING now decided on his method of description as well as on his social unit, Le Play was in a position to attempt to classify the mass of information which he had accumulated in the course of nearly thirty years' study of European societies. As the naturalist monographs a plant or animal, or the mineralogist a mineral, so Le Play proceeded to monograph what he regarded as typical working-class families, compiling, to borrow a happy phrase from Professor Patrick Geddes, a "sort of economic natural history".

THREE circumstances contribute to differentiate workers from each other. The first is their trade or occupation; the second, their grade in this occupation; the third, the nature of their contract with their employers.

OCCUPATIONS Le Play divided into nine groups:—

- (1) Entire dependence on the spontaneous productions of the earth.
- (2) The exploitation of the grass lands by means of pasturage.
- (3) The exploitation of the seas and coasts by fishing.
- (4) Forestry and the industries depending on it.
- (5) Mining and related industries.
- (6) Agriculture and related occupations.
- (7) Manufactures.
- (8) Commerce.
- (9) Liberal arts and professions.

THE diversity of life among the working-classes of Europe produced by this wide diversity of occupations is increased by the fact that all those engaged at the same

occupation are not at the same level. In almost every occupation six grades are found.

(1) AT the bottom of the scale come servants, lodging in the master's house and forming part of his household. They are paid partly in kind, in the form of board and lodging, and partly in money, in the form of wages.

(2) NEXT above servants rank day-labourers, with households of their own. They are paid almost exclusively in money, though, in the simpler societies of northern and eastern Europe, they frequently own the houses they occupy.

(3) THE next grade is that of piece-workers who are paid a fixed price for a definite piece of work. This position is superior to that of workers paid by time in two respects. In the first place they regulate the employment of their own time, thus approximating to the independent position of the master working on his own account. In the second place the terms of their contract gives an incentive to skilful and expeditious work, thus greatly augmenting the earnings of the worker while at the same time diminishing the cost of production to the employer.

(4) THE fourth class consists of tenants renting property from a landlord. The tenant class is far from homogeneous, including the servant with a right to pasture a few head of cattle with his master's, day or piece-workers renting a dwelling house, and the master workmen renting a property to work it for their own profit.

(5) THE next class consists of those who own instead of renting property. These have no rent to deduct from their profits and are educated by the responsibilities of ownership into habits of thrift and self-denial. Disastrous consequences frequently result from well meant attempts to transform the preceding class into owners of property by administrative means. This has been illustrated on a large scale by the emancipation of feudal tenants in eastern Europe. Many of these had lived prosperously under the authority of their masters, but when they suddenly acquired independence, they proved incapable of the foresight and self-denial which their new responsibilities exacted and became the prey of the liquor seller and the usurer.

(6) THE highest class is that of master workmen, whether tenants or owners. They work for a *clientèle* of their own. They are often assisted by members of their family or by hired servants, in which case they are on the border line separating the worker from the employer.

THE third set of circumstances which differentiates one group of workers from another is the footing on which the worker stands towards his employer. This depends less on the wage paid than on the nature of the contract between the two parties. This is determined by a great variety of circumstances of which the most important appears to be the density of population. Where there is abundance of available soil compulsory permanent engagements are the rule, and the system

works well provided that the resident proprietors feel a sense of moral obligation towards their dependents. In that case the responsibilities they have to discharge towards their serfs are so heavy that they would not infrequently gain more than their dependents by the dissolution of the feudal bond. As available soil becomes scarcer voluntary permanent engagements tend to replace forced labour. These in turn give place, with the agglomeration of population and the consequent overstocking of the labour market, to a system of temporary engagements based entirely on the payment of a money wage. Under this system the old solidarity of master and servant disappears and when disputes arise both sides freely resort to strikes and lock-outs and other measures of industrial warfare.

CHAPTER VIII

BUDGETS : THE INCOME SIDE

IN the case of families living under urban conditions the only resource is the daily or weekly wage. The working-classes of our large towns are not, however, typical of the great bulk of the working-class families of Europe. Outside the centres of industry the payment of a fixed money wage is by no means the only system of remuneration nor the sole source of income. It is true that the conditions of life in industrial centres generally prevent the worker from being more than a worker, but elsewhere he is frequently tenant, owner, or master in addition. In such cases he possesses supplementary sources of income which must be shown in any balance sheet drawn up for him.

THE balance sheet of the domestic servant* contains the smallest number of items. Board, lodging and, in some cases, clothing, are provided together with an annual money wage. Local custom, however, often adds supplementary sources of income which, though trifling, must not be overlooked. The agricultural day-labourer of Lower Brittany, described in the fourth volume of *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS*, began life as a domestic servant in his master's house. He was entitled by local custom to a privilege which ultimately enabled him to rise into the superior position of a day labourer with a home of his own. This was his right to keep along with his master's cattle two cows of his own, which were his exclusive property, together with their produce and increase. By this means he acquired a small capital, and was enabled to marry and occupy a cottage.

THIS is but one example of a very general phenomenon. Many of these old customary rights have fallen into disuse, especially in the industrial countries of Europe.

* i.e. the worker who lives in the employer's household, but may be engaged in farm or other outdoor work.—A.F.

Wherever the old traditional organisation and customs survive, as, for example, in Russia, Turkey and Scandinavia, the secondary occupations, and consequently the supplementary sources of income of the domestic servant class are relatively numerous. In some cases the employer is bound by custom to supply materials and tools for a little cultivation, or for rearing some domestic animals, or for the manufacturing of clothing, or of hunting and fishing gear. There is, however, in almost every case one great hindrance to the free development of secondary occupations in the case of servants. The servant's time is wholly at the disposition of his master and consequently even under the most favourable conditions the servant's budget contains fewer items than that of any other class of workers.

THE budget of the day-labourer assumes a very simple form when a whole family subsists on the wage earned by the head of the family at a single occupation. This is assumed by many writers on economics to be the typical case. Le Play, on the other hand, regards it as a most exceptional one. His monographs show that as a rule other members of the family—the wife, elder children, or some other adults—were also engaged in remunerative work and contributed to the total resources of the family. In some of the families monographed in *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS* as many as a dozen supplementary occupations were found.

THE first point to note, therefore, in compiling the budget of a working-class family, is that in most cases there are other sources of income besides the wage earned by the head of the family. One of these, the labour of other members of the family, has just been noticed. In addition to this there are three others, important enough to form separate sections of the budget. These are, first, interest on capital invested in real or personal property; second, subventions, or payments in kind on a customary basis; and third, any profits on various home industries. One or more of these sources of income figures in most working-class budgets.

THE working-classes as a rule prefer to invest their capital in house property. Families otherwise little remarkable for self-control constantly make relatively great sacrifices to attain this end. If it is quite beyond their means to buy their house outright they often manage to acquire a little orchard, or a plot of ground for cultivating fruits and vegetables, or a little grazing land.

AFTER house property domestic animals are the favourite form of investment. These are much more easily acquired than land or houses. Property in this form is brought within the reach of the class which is incapable of very prolonged effort, but which will make sacrifices in the present to secure an obvious reward in the near future, that is to say the very class which most needs to be educated by the responsibilities of ownership. Custom has sanctioned many means of acquiring property in the shape of domestic animals. Sometimes the master supplies animals on credit, to be paid for after the animal has been fattened and turned into money.

Sometimes he has to provide pasture, oak mast, litter, etc., possibly receiving a share in the profits. Elsewhere the servant has rights of common pasturage, and a share of grasses, leaves, fruit, etc., from the forests and other state lands. Where the system of temporary engagements has destroyed these ancient customary rights, private charity, stimulated perhaps by the last vestiges of local tradition, comes to the rescue, and grants as a privilege what was formerly enjoyed as a right.

THE acquisition of property, whether in the form of real property or of domestic animals, exercises the most marked influence on the intellectual and material condition of the working-classes. It lays the foundation of those habits of self-denial, forethought and thrift, by which success in life is attained. The care of domestic animals exercises a particularly humanising influence on the character. As an extreme example Le Play cites a case which occurred in a Siberian village. An epidemic of disease had destroyed all the dogs except two motherless new-born puppies. These were taken by one of the women who nursed them at her own breast. Without going so far as this there is no doubt that great sacrifices are often made by the working classes to avoid losing their domestic animals, and this is the best evidence of their value.

A THIRD mode of investing capital is in the purchase of tools and other requisites for carrying on domestic industries. A budget chosen at random shows under this heading the following items ; requisites for working the family holding ; requisites for the use of draught animals and dairy requisites ; requisites for laundry work ; requisites for the occupation carried on by the head of the family.

ANOTHER mode of investing is by putting money into a friendly or benevolent society, a sick club, building society, or other association of the kind. The profit of such investments forms the fourth item under the head of invested capital.

THE thrift of the working-classes rarely takes the form of investing money at interest. Periodical dividends offer less inducement to thrift than the daily material advantages derived from the possession of house or garden or a few domestic animals.

THE second section in the budget of receipts deals with what Le Play calls *subventions*. These he defines as payments in kind on a customary basis, irrespective of the quantity of work executed. They are of three kinds ; rights of sole usage ; rights of common usage ; and allowances in kind or service.

THE commonest payment in kind is the grant of a free house. Next in frequency come accommodation for beasts, ground for pasture or cultivation, domestic animals, requisites for carrying on various occupations, and, not infrequently, the loan of money either without interest or at a reduced rate. All these are rights of sole usage.

THE second class of payment in kind, rights and privileges enjoyed in common, are often of immemorial antiquity. Among the commonest are the right to use a local

baking oven, flour mill, slaughter house, wine, cider, or oil press, or some similar convenience. Sometimes there is a common right to glean after the lord of the manor and his tenants have gathered their harvest. There are also rights to the wild produce of the soil, fish, game, wild berries and fruits, mushrooms, fodder and litter, firewood, turf, peat, reeds and osiers, various substances mined or quarried, manure gathered on the shores of lakes, rivers and seas, dung collected on the public roads, and others too numerous to mention. Le Play had learned as a child the value of privileges like these to a needy family, and it was natural that he should reckon them among the assets of a working-class family.

PAYMENTS in the form of allowances in kind or service are also very numerous. One of the most familiar in our own country is the gardener's right to supply himself with vegetables from his employer's garden. A very common payment in the form of service is for a master to supply, or allow his draught animals to be used for carting, hay or firewood.

To estimate the value of payments in kind is a difficult task. As Le Play remarked, only experience and practice can render such estimates trustworthy. In not a few cases, however, the privilege forms a basis for small scale enterprise. Then some such method as the following may be employed. The receipts and payments connected with the industry are estimated as exactly as possible. A certain proportion of the balance is set down as the net profit of the enterprise and the rest is reckoned as the value of the privilege. The values in question are generally small, and any error affects only the proportion between these two figures.

PAYMENTS in kind are bound up with the survival of custom and are rapidly disappearing before the industrial transformation of Europe. To some extent this disappearance is compensated by a rise in wages. The working-classes, however, are really losers. The apparent compensation is not a true equivalent. Where payments were made in kind on a basis fixed by custom, a family was assured of certain articles of consumption however the market price of these might vary. The purchasing power of money wages, on the other hand, is constantly fluctuating, while the needs of a family remain much the same. If the working-classes as a whole were sufficiently far-seeing to make provision for such fluctuation the loss of payments in kind would matter little so long as wages rose in proportion. This, however, is far from being the case. It requires little observation of the working-classes to see that the average working man is better off with a supply of fuel for winter and a smaller wage than with a higher wage and no such grant of fuel. In many cases, too, a privilege is suddenly withdrawn without compensation. Great hardships are often caused when estates change hands. Privileges, such as the right to gather firewood or wild fruits, which were continued by the hereditary owners, are often harshly suppressed by a new owner who is ignorant of or out of sympathy with the local custom.

THE third section of the budget of receipts shows the wages earned at the various occupations carried on, and the fourth the gains arising out of any home production.

THE chief contributor to the wages section of the budget is the head of the family, who in most cases is the husband and father. He generally divides his time between his special trade or occupation and a number of secondary employments. The special trade or occupation is the more important, furnishing the chief source of income and giving the family its distinctive character. With the development of modern industrial conditions it tends to displace the secondary employments altogether. The conditions of life in a small house in a crowded town obviously prevent such activities as the cultivation of a garden, or the keeping of a few animals. In eastern Europe a family produces the majority of the articles it requires, but in the west it is growing more and more common for families to produce none. Whatever is wanted is bought out of the weekly wage. Thus the wage earner becomes more and more dependent on the practice of his trade which, under modern industrial conditions, is often but a single detail in a complex process of manufacture. As in so many other complex social phenomena cause and effect react on each other. When a crisis comes and he is thrown out of employment the stoppage of his weekly wage means the loss of the whole available income. In the cases where some secondary occupation is carried on, the blow is less severe, and as the worker is less specialised it is easier for him to seek work of another kind if the crisis proves to be more than a temporary one. The discontinuance of such activities accelerates over-specialisation and over-specialisation accelerates their disappearance.

THE mother's distinctive occupation is the multitude of varied and useful tasks known as domestic duties. These include the preparation of food and clothing, washing and cleaning, and the care of children and the sick. In a properly organised society these are the distinctive occupations of a married woman whose day is spent chiefly in the home. Various subordinate occupations occupy her leisure time. The gathering of wild produce and the care of the domestic animals is generally part of her work, in which she is frequently assisted by the children. With or without the assistance of other members of the family she spins yarn, knits stockings and makes clothes. Unfortunately, as in the case of men, these secondary occupations are diminishing in number and importance in the manufacturing districts of western Europe. Within the last century modern industrial conditions have revolutionised the occupations of women and girls, many of whom have given up the old domestic industries and left the home to work for a money wage in factories and mills. This has had a most disastrous effect on the family life and on women themselves.

AN item of the budget is devoted to the work of children. From their earliest years they help their mothers in the care of the garden and the domestic animals. They gather wild fruit, glean the fields, drive the cows to pasture and perform many other tasks of the same kind, economising the more valuable time of their elders and thus indirectly increasing the resources of the family. At a suitable age they either go out to service or work at some trade. The family often receives their wages and provides for their needs so long as they remain unmarried, and sets them up when they marry. Sometimes the young people retain the control of their own earnings and assume the responsibility of providing clothes, furniture, domestic animals and the other gear required before a home can be started.

In eastern Europe, and generally where modern industrial conditions have not yet triumphed, children do not take up any regular occupation before puberty. They share in any or all of the family occupations, so far as they care to do so, but there is no compulsion in the matter. In western Europe the case is unfortunately different. With the development of labour-saving machinery children have become as competent as grown men in many branches of industry. Their labour is, of course, much cheaper and it is considered economical to employ them as far as possible. It has been found necessary to appeal to the State to prevent the employment of children below a certain age, and for longer than a specified time. This is only one of the many evil effects on family life which have resulted from the modern industrial system. Where engagements of a permanent character are still in force, children are nowhere employed, even in emergencies, as they are habitually employed in the industrial countries of western Europe.

To estimate the wages earned is a simpler matter, in most cases, so far as the principal occupation is concerned. The number of days worked is multiplied by the rate per day, giving the required total. In the case of secondary occupations there is considerable difficulty in deciding what proportion to set down as wages and what proportion as profit. No wages are assigned for the performance of domestic duties. The time devoted to them varies considerably, but may be taken to average from two to six hours a day, that is to say from sixty to eighty days of twelve hours each in a year. The greater the amount of time spent on cleanliness and the proper preparation of food, the greater the comfort of the family, and the greater the demand on the woman's time. On the other hand women are continually being relieved by the progress of manufactures from a multitude of tasks which were formerly performed at home. Soap, for instance, is now rarely made at home, and this is a typical instance of the progressive simplification of women's work.

AFTER the wages earned by each member of the family at these varied occupations have been estimated there remains the net profit dealt with in the fourth and last section of the budget.

A COMPARATIVE study of the fourth section of the different budgets enables us to form some idea of the relative importance of the secondary occupations among the different grades of workers. The domestic servant in western Europe is usually unmarried and has little time for productive work on his own account. Exceptions to this rule throw considerable light on characteristic features of social organisation. Such exceptions are commonest in countries where the condition of domestic service is essentially a temporary one, out of which a man rises by means of thrift and industry. Among day workers the secondary occupations assume a greater importance. Workers belonging to this class often keep domestic animals, raise fruit and vegetables, and carry on enterprises which require only a small capital and a simple outfit. For instance, a man may provide his own tools instead of using those belonging to his employer. After allowing for interest on the capital sunk and for depreciation there remains a relatively large profit which is entered under the fourth section of the budget. A typical case recently came under the writer's notice. A jobbing gardener in a country village was paid fivepence an hour for cutting grass with his employer's machine and sevenpence an hour for cutting it with his own. Of the total sum earned in the latter case Le Play would put five-sevenths in section three under the head of wages, and the remaining two-sevenths, less interest on capital (which comes under section one) and an allowance for depreciation, under section four as the profit of a secondary occupation.*

In the case of piece-workers the secondary industries are still more important. Workers of this class are, as a rule, men of superior activity and intelligence, and possess larger resources and freer command of their time. Their enterprises are on a wider scale, and they are not afraid to run a little risk. Indeed the higher rate of pay earned by the piece-worker is, in some sort, the profit of a secondary industry peculiar to the piece-worker as such. This consists of the skilful use of his time and any other economical or labour-saving devices which experience leads him to adopt. The secondary industries are still more important and profitable in the case of the three remaining classes of workers, the tenant, proprietor and master workman. All three possess special facilities (wanting in the cases already examined) both for creating working capital and for developing varied industries.

* Le Play adds a word on the degree of precision attempted. Centimes frequently appear in his totals, but this does not mean that the results are true to the tenth part of a penny. It is however, often useful to compare the average outlay on certain articles with the total value of the articles consumed. It then becomes necessary to estimate the quantity consumed with an exaggerated precision which would be unnecessary merely to determine the total value. For example, the average consumption of salt in one family is 23 kilogrammes. This quantity costs 6 fr., 21 c. If we set this down at 6 fr., a calculation shows an annual consumption of 22.2 kilogrammes, and this figure suggests a degree of precision which the actual facts do not warrant. Even if the estimate of quantity were omitted there would still be items less than a franc, and the total of the budget would contain centimes unless small items, and with them many useful and characteristic details, were omitted. It may be taken that the centimes are significant in the separate items and meaningless in the gross total.

CHAPTER IX

BUDGETS : THE EXPENSES SIDE

THE budget of receipts shows the various sources from which the working-classes derive their income. The budget of expenses shows how this income is expended and illustrates the material condition of the working-classes. It is divided into five sections. The first three deal with the provision of food, shelter and clothing. The fourth includes all payments made in virtue of intellectual and moral needs, including under this head recreation and medical care. The fifth and last section shows the expenses concerned with the domestic industries, debts, taxes and insurances.

It was difficult in Le Play's time to make an exhaustive list of the food substances used by the working-classes of Europe. In the absence of scientific data observation suggested the following grouping : cereals, fats, milk and eggs, meat and fish, vegetables and fruits, condiments and stimulants, fermented drinks.

The generic term, cereals, includes a series of grains composed of a highly nutritive starch covered by a woody husk, which when separated is known as bran. In Europe, except in rare cases, cereals are grown and consumed in greater quantities than any other food stuff. Where diet is simplified as far as possible half the total cost of food may be spent on cereals. As the standard of comfort rises other foodstuffs become important, more especially fatty substances, animal food, and fermented drinks.

THE cereal in use in each locality has important effects both on agriculture and on domestic life. Conditions of soil and climate partly account for the diversity, but the standard of living is also a factor.

EUROPE is divided into three natural zones, extending parallel to each other from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains. The northern zone includes the islands of the Arctic Ocean, Scotland and the adjacent islands, Jutland, Norway and the greater part of Sweden, Finland, the north of Russia, and the Ural Mountains to 59°. In this zone the oat is the chief cereal crop. The southern zone includes the Italian, Balkan and Spanish peninsulas, southern France, Carniola, the plains of Turkey and the Danube, Greece, Hungary and the southern part of the Crimea. The cereals grown are maize and wheat, the former predominating. The central zone* produces rye, barley and wheat. Oats appear towards the northern, and maize to the southern limit of this zone. Rice, millet and buckwheat, important grains in other parts of the world, are confined to a few localities.

THE methods of preparing and cooking cereals vary considerably. All peoples are so very conservative in this respect that such data may conceivably throw some light on ethnic problems. The mode of preparation in use exercises important

* i.e. the area between the two zones already defined.—A.F.

influence on woman's work, and hence in the long run on the total receipts of the family. From this point of view it cannot be overlooked by the student of social science.

IN Europe cereals are usually converted into meal or flour. In Asia and Africa the husking, crushing and grinding are domestic industries, but this is rarely the case in Europe. Flour is cooked in three typical ways. In this country, France, North Germany and Scandinavia, it is generally made into bread. This is often done by the housewife, especially if she devotes all her time to the performance of her domestic duties. It is one of the first occupations given up where fuel is dear or where conveniences do not exist. A second mode is to mix flour with water, and sometimes with other ingredients forming a paste. This is divided into pieces of various shapes and thicknesses and then cooked; it is eaten in various combinations. This mode of preparation is common in the east of France where it appears to have been introduced by south Germans from the Slavonic provinces of Austria. It is less extravagant than baking, inasmuch as it involves no considerable expenditure of time and fuel, but as it must be repeated daily it is not an economical method if the housewife can find a lucrative occupation for her leisure. Vermicelli and similar dried forms of this paste can be bought in many parts of Europe, but as they are less valuable than bread and not cheap they are little used by the working classes. Of the third mode of preparation, porridge is a well-known example. The meal is mixed with water or milk and stirred over the fire till it thickens. Sometimes the process is varied by pouring or spreading a thin layer of the mixture on to a hot iron plate or girdle, as in making Scotch oat-cakes. This method is practised with various modifications among several western peoples, and especially among the Bretons and Spanish Basques. It is the favourite method of cooking maize or buckwheat. Polenta, a mixture of maize and cheese, is the staple food of the working-classes of Italy. All methods by which the cereals are first converted into flour involve considerable waste. Cereals are, therefore, sometimes simply crushed, or merely decorticated. Whole rice, barley groats, and millet grains are frequently used in southern Europe and the warm regions of other countries.

FATTY substances, especially those of animal origin, seem to be invariably associated with a diet of cereals. Near the Arctic zone animal fat is chiefly used. Butter made from the milk of cows is not found north of 60° N, but it is the chief fatty food in the plains of the central zone. In the mountains the milk of goats is often substituted for cows' milk. In the same zone the fat of oxen, sheep and pigs is extensively used. In the hot southern zone it is difficult to preserve or transport butter, and the absence of good pasturage interferes with the regular and abundant supply of milk. Cheese, therefore, and not butter, is the form adopted for the preservation of milk. It replaces butter as an ordinary article of food, as in the

polenta of Italy. Even in other parts of Europe where milk is abundant, a considerable amount is converted into cheese. This method of preserving milk has the advantage of equalising the consumption of preserved milk over the year, and of providing an economical food for the poorer classes. Vegetable oil, and especially olive oil, is largely used instead of animal fat in southern Europe. It does not appear to be a perfect substitute, for though we find races living exclusively on cereals and butter we find none living on cereals and oil.

MILK and eggs, although so important as to be classed as a separate item of food, are to a large extent a substitute for the preceding. Milk is largely used instead of other fats over the whole of the central zone, especially where the occupation requires no violent physical exertion. Where great demands are made on the physical powers its conversion into butter or cheese appears to be a hygienic necessity.

ANIMAL food is absent from the dietary of whole classes of strong and vigorous workers. In many cases it is eaten only in very small quantities and appears to be valuable chiefly for the fat it contains. In many agricultural districts of France, Spain and Italy it is not eaten more than once a year. Beef does not figure as an important item in the food of the working-classes except in Russia, Scandinavia, Hungary, England and the Lowlands of Scotland. Elsewhere it is eaten only occasionally. Veal is much used on the continent in all parts of the temperate zone. Horseflesh is eaten by some European nomads and their Asiatic neighbours. The chief animal food of the working-classes is the flesh of the sheep, goat and pig. Game is much used in the wooded regions of the north and east. Poultry is a common article of diet in Hungary; fish is largely eaten on the seaboard of the North and Baltic Seas, and immense quantities of salmon are caught in the rivers flowing into these seas.

OF vegetables the potato is perhaps the most important. It became exceedingly common within the nineteenth century but there is reason to doubt if the extension of its use is hygienically desirable. It is least objectionable when used in combination with meat and fermented drinks. The pulses, peas, beans and lentils, are largely grown in the south of Europe and in the adjacent regions of the temperate zone where they tend to replace cereals. It should be noted, however, that although cereals without pulses or potatoes form a satisfactory diet, neither pulses nor potatoes form a complete diet alone. Green vegetables, like cabbage, are more necessary than meat. The various root vegetables, carrots, turnips etc., increase the volume of nourishment and favour digestion. Onions and similar seasonings are freely used, especially in hot countries. Salads are chiefly used in the south. Mushrooms are almost unknown to the working-classes in many parts of Europe, and are sometimes considered unfit for food. In the north they are an important article of diet, and in Russia, where vegetables are scarce, they are highly esteemed. In the Urals

they are gathered in large quantities in the forests and preserved for winter use. Cucumbers, melons, pumpkins and their allies form a link between fruits and vegetables, but are an important item of diet in the southern zone. Fruits are of value when taken in moderate quantities, but they are rather luxuries than articles of food.

SALT, spices, vinegar, sugar and aromatic substances like tea and tobacco may be classed as condiments and stimulants. Salt is an indispensable accompaniment of food, and adults appear to suffer when the annual consumption falls below 8 lbs. a head. Considerably more is used when the price is low and articles are salted down. In many parts of Europe salt is supplied occasionally to the domestic animals. Vinegar, though less indispensable, forms a part of the food of all European nations. Spices, especially pepper, are largely employed. These are almost the only articles imported from tropical countries which enter into the daily consumption of all the working classes of Europe. Sugar is used only in small quantities by many of the working classes, and is unknown among some rural populations. It is only in the manufacturing districts of England and the Lowlands of Scotland, the north of France, Germany and Belgium, that sugar enters regularly into the diet of the working classes. Raw sugar and molasses are used in the centre and west. Honey is substituted in some parts. Beekeeping is carried on with great success in the great pine forests of Russia and Scandinavia as well as in the richly flowered steppes of the Sea of Azov and round the Black and Mediterranean Seas. With the use of sugar is associated that of aromatic drinks. Tea is the favourite beverage among the sugar-using classes of Great Britain and the Netherlands, and of many parts of Russia. In other parts of Europe it is replaced by coffee. The use of these beverages, which is of comparatively recent introduction, is spreading rapidly among the working classes and is to some extent a measure of the standard of comfort. Tobacco is smoked and chewed, but in Europe the latter practice is almost confined to sailors.

FERMENTED drinks are far less indispensable than the articles of food just enumerated. Much heated discussion has taken place as to their hygienic effect, but observation appears to show that their moderate use is attended with some advantages in occupations which require a great expenditure of muscular force, together with exposure to great heat. Excess is attended by evils too notorious to require comment.

In estimating the living expenses of a working-class family it should be remembered that some members of the family are often obliged to take some meals outside their own home. Various arrangements are then made. Some take a supply of food with them; some are provided with food by their employers, which falls under the head of subventions; some buy meals out of the wage earned. These circumstances should in each case be specified. The first section of the budget, which shows the

expenditure on food, should be divided into two parts, one showing the outlay on food consumed at home, the other the outlay on food consumed outside the home.

THE second section of the budget of expenditure shows the expenses connected with lodging. These are classified under four heads : the dwelling and its upkeep ; upkeep of furniture ; warming and lighting.

THE dwelling house is frequently provided free by the employer. This appears at an early stage of the transformation of a people ; the master who would mould the nomad to a sedentary life must first supply him with a shelter. It is slow to disappear before the conditions of modern industrial life. There is no more important social question than the provision of proper accommodation for the working-classes. The ideal is that each family should possess a house of its own and that this should be handed on from father to son. This is the ideal of the more thrifty and laborious section of the working-class. The majority, however, are incapable of the preliminary self-denial, and if property comes into their hands they rarely have sufficient self-control and foresight to keep it intact. Hence it is desirable that custom should place certain restrictions on the right of the owner and that these should vary according to the stage of development reached by the society as a whole.

Two peasants, a Russian, let us say, and a Frenchman possess a homestead. The first holds it conditionally as a subvention. He may sell it or bequeath it to any tenant of the same seigneur, but not to an outsider. He may not mortgage it under any circumstances whatever. It is his own and not his own. The Frenchman may do what he pleases with his house, subject to the general law of France. The explanation of the difference is not far to seek. The Frenchman has acquired his by his own efforts and is not likely to compromise the fruit of long years of self-denial. The Russian owes his to the consideration of his seigneur and, as it has cost him little or nothing, he does not know its value. If he had, like the Frenchman, the right to sell or mortgage it to strangers, he would become the victim of the usurer, or the liquor seller. Thus he would exchange a permanent advantage for the temporary convenience of a sum of ready money which would quickly be dissipated. Wise restrictions on improvidence are a real boon to races at a low stage of development, enabling them to acquire the actual, if not the technical, ownership of property earlier than would otherwise be possible. A careful examination of the rights of property among different societies proves that there is a relation, not lightly to be disturbed or ignored, between the conditions of tenure and the intellectual and moral development of that society.

IN most parts of Europe a working man's home consists of a house with a garden or orchard which he cultivates with the help of the other members of his family. If this pays, a little more ground is often rented for the cultivation of crops, such as potatoes, which require a considerable amount of room.

THE quality and quantity of furniture possessed by a working-class family is largely regulated by local custom and therefore varies considerably in different parts of Europe. In eastern Europe a few mats, cushions, and wooden and metal vessels are all that is necessary, and the acquisition of household gear is a simple and inexpensive matter. In western Europe not to possess a bed and bedding is a sign of absolute destitution, and even the poorest family is supposed to have simple utensils and furniture besides. To start housekeeping in the west requires a relatively considerable capital. Where the old ideals still prevail public opinion strongly condemns the improvidence of marrying without the means to furnish a home. In towns, however, marriages are often contracted at an early age before any provision for the future has been made. The usual result is neglected families and wretched homes. On the other hand many young couples dissipate the whole of their savings on the purchase of furniture above their station and are left without any resources in the case of an unforeseen emergency. The section of the monographs which gives an inventory of the furniture shows whether the tendency of the family under consideration is to observe the old excellent custom of the district, or to violate it in either of these directions. In either case it will be found that there is a relation between the standard of furniture in use, whether ample, excessive, or deficient, and the general tenour of the family life, and that much may be learned respecting the tendencies of a family merely from the inventory of the furniture.

THE next item is heating. Fire is required for cooking and, in most cases, for heating the dwelling. This need becomes more urgent as we go north-east in Europe, not merely on account of the increasing severity of the climate, but also because the hygienic requirements and the character of the natural productions makes a larger proportion of cooked food necessary. The distribution and social condition of the working-classes is intimately connected with the relative abundance and geographical distribution of forests and coalfields. This has become very marked since the application of steam power to manufacture. In the north and east of Europe where the forests and water power are uniformly distributed, population is also uniformly distributed. In the west of Europe there is an increasing concentration of population round the coal fields, attended by a striking transformation of the conditions of existence of the working-classes.

CONSIDERED, however, not in its wider bearing on the organisation of society, but in its effect on the ordinary working-class family, it may be noticed that a liberal outlay on fuel is an undoubted index of prosperity. A large consumption of fuel is not indispensable to the preservation of life though it contributes in a marked degree to comfort. When the means of subsistence are insufficient it is usual to economise on this item, even though such economy often amounts to privation. In Paris, for example, the price of fuel is so high as to be

almost prohibitive for the poorer classes. Hardly any subvention is so valuable to the working-classes as one which provides them with fuel. Fortunately this is still common in spite of the rapid economic changes of this century. In countries where fuel is abundant the working-classes use timber and pit coal but where these are scarce and costly they employ less valuable materials. Over the greater part of Europe they are allowed to gather chips, rotten branches and brushwood. Near coal mines they are allowed to take the small coal, which is mixed with clay into briquettes. In the marsh lands of Europe, from Ireland to Russia, turf or peat is cut and burned, and where even this resource fails, dried grass, reeds, straw and dried dung are employed, as on the steppes of both the old and new world.

THE right to cut firewood is a sacred one in many parts of northern and eastern Europe, even where those who exercise it are neither tenants nor servants of the landowner. In Russia, in the basin of the upper Kama, many of the villages situated on lands belonging to the crown, near forests belonging to private owners, have a time-honoured right to cut firewood in these forests. There is no limit to the quantity which may be taken so long as it is strictly appropriated to the use of the family. Nor has this right been affected by the rupture of the links which bound the serf to the soil. Free, in so far as regards his person, but still bound to his lord by the bonds of community, he has retained these privileges which are felt to be so essential that they have outlasted the transition from serfdom. This is the case in Sweden, Hungary and many of the Slavonic provinces of Central Europe. In Germany, France, Italy and especially in Spain the peasant communes cling tenaciously to their old forest rights, but the force of custom in the matter has been greatly weakened during the last century. The lords of the forests are often newcomers who do not feel the same obligation in the matter as the old families whom they have displaced. The working-classes thus find themselves deprived of a valuable subvention without any compensating rise in wages and the result is an embittered feeling and the growth of class division. The force of custom is still felt, however, even in the mining districts, where coal is supplied free or at a reduced rate, but here, as in the case of the forests, the practice tends to disappear before the new industrial ideals.

THE item of lighting is important as an index to the intellectual as well as the material condition. Artificial light is certainly not a necessity. Over the greater part of Europe the length of the day suffices for the work of each season, and artificial light is only a secondary need. The expenditure under this head is an index of the value set upon reading, conversation and other social recreations in the long winter evenings, and therefore, to some extent, a measure of intellectual culture. Various means are adopted for obtaining artificial light in different parts of Europe. On the shores of the Arctic Ocean it is obtained by burning wicks plunged in fish oil. In the vast forest region further to the south, pine torches, or substances steeped in tar, are

used for illumination. The same method is employed on the mountains of the south. In central Europe candles are made of animal fat, or oil is burned by means of wicks and lamps. The use of gas is spreading in the towns. The country people are exceedingly conservative in the matter of light. It is often possible to trace ancient administrative and political subdivisions by observing this one detail. North of the Loire, for example, the traveller knows when he is approaching the frontiers of the old province of Brittany by noticing that the peasants begin to use a little candle made of fat mixed with resin known as an *oribus*.

THE third section of the budget of expenditure is devoted to clothing. This, among the pastoral peoples of eastern Europe, is obtained almost wholly from the produce of the flock, utilised by the labour of the family. There is, therefore, always an abundant supply. In the manufacturing districts of western Europe, on the other hand, it is provided out of the money wage, which is always precarious. When a commercial crisis stops the mills and factories and throws their hands out of work great suffering follows. The working-classes of the industrial countries of Europe, no longer able to fall back on domestic industries at such crises, are often obliged to sell or pawn their clothing to provide food and shelter. The clothing of the working-classes, however, is not in most cases of any great value. Formerly, all classes wore solid and very durable stuffs of wool and hemp, such as are still used in the north and east of Europe. These have been replaced by cheap manufactured stuffs, which wear very badly and continually require to be replaced. The cost of making is often more than that of the stuff, and this, in manufacturing countries where the use of the needle is becoming a lost art, forms a heavy charge on the resources of the family. Where the mother can make the clothes required a great saving is effected. It is true that she does not now often spin and weave the cloth, but she sews and knits.

A CIRCUMSTANCE which has a great influence on the expenditure of the working-classes on dress is the use or disuse of a national dress. The dress once bought was a possession that would last for a lifetime without going out of fashion. To have the best that could be got was therefore an economy, and the preparation of a trousseau was an investment of capital which, once made, need not be repeated. Now, however, national dresses are being laid aside and fashions are constantly changing. A dress of the old fashioned substantial kind would soon be out of date, and therefore it is economy—of a sort—to use cheap stuffs and replace them frequently. In making an inventory of the wardrobe it should be noted whether the national dress is worn, and if not whether the style of dress is adapted to the station in life, or whether it is a cheap and tawdry copy of that of the upper classes. The dress of the children too should be noticed. However poor, it should be neat and clean and made for them. When children are dressed in the cast-off clothes of their

elders without regard to shape or fit it is an indication either of destitution or of parental neglect.

THE washing of clothes and linen is almost everywhere in Europe a domestic habit and occupation. Washing is sent out only when the mother is too much occupied, or when the house is too small, or when the article requires some special treatment. The overcrowding of towns, however, threatens to interfere with the continuance of this practice, especially when the mother has some lucrative employment for her time. On the other hand, the provision of public laundries is increasing and many of the newer blocks of workmen's dwellings have laundries common to all the tenants. This is a sort of return to the old system of payments in kind under a new form, but in so far as it tends to aggregate women outside their home, and to afford too many facilities for gossip, it has its drawbacks.

THE fourth section of the budget includes all payments which come under the head of moral needs. It includes those for religious and charitable purposes, as well as for education and medical attendance.

CHURCH expenses are in a great measure defrayed out of the endowments of the church, but in most countries the laity either pay compulsory dues or contribute voluntarily. In many countries there is a pious desire to preserve the memory of dead kinsfolk and friends by religious observances, and many sacrifices are made for this end. Such payments are included in the fourth section of the budget.

THE amount devoted to almsgiving has a significance of its own. Under modern conditions the quality most essential for success in life is a complex virtue called prudence or foresight. Those who lack it remain in the lowest grade of workers, and so spend little or nothing in almsgiving, because they have barely sufficient for themselves. Those who possess it often have it in excess. They sympathise little with those who have failed where they have succeeded, and also give but little in charity, though from a different motive. It is notorious that the self-made man is usually a harder master than the aristocrat in whose family *noblesse oblige* is a tradition. The latter is born to his position, and has never found it necessary to cultivate prudence to the exclusion of sympathy. The former has won his way chiefly by the exercise of prudence and has the defects of his qualities.

In view of its significance from this point of view charitable assistance forms a sub-section in the budget. Such assistance will, however, be differently regarded in different societies. In a society like our own where the imperative need for the sterner virtues is apt to crush out the natural impulse to sympathy it is commonly extolled as a religious duty. On the other hand it is regarded as a natural and inevitable mode of acting in the pastoral societies of the east, where the conditions

of life call for little or no exercise of foresight. The point of view in a given case should be shown, wherever possible.

THE expenses connected with education come next. Education consists of home training or education proper, and regular instruction. The tendency is to restrict the term education to the latter, which is the least important part of education. Many illiterate persons are remarkably intelligent. Much tact, discernment and personal ascendancy are displayed by the heads of families among races regarded as unprogressive, and these qualities are transmitted from generation to generation by the force of parental example. The introduction of primary education among such societies would be attended, at first at least, by regrettable consequences, and it is not impossible that more would be lost than gained.

IN Europe the education of the young is rarely left exclusively to family tradition. The elements of religious education are generally given by the clergy, and an elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and occasionally in geography and history, is almost universal. More recently legislation has endeavoured to regulate the matter. Unfortunately it seldom takes account of local necessities and is too apt to apply one rigid system to a variety of unlike organisations. If the comparative study of working-class families had no other advantage it might still claim recognition for bringing to light facts of family organisation of which legislators are for the most part ignorant. As already shown there is much work suited to their childish years that young children delight to perform. Such, for example, is the driving of the cows to pasture in summer. If they cannot help in such ways the work has to be done by the elder members of the family and the family as a whole is the poorer. In the case of poor families it is a real hardship to be deprived of the help of children in the busy summer months. To ensure the benefits of instruction to the children of such families without injuring the family is the problem for legislators, and the school system should be subordinated to existing needs until the habits of work have adapted themselves to the new educational needs.

RECREATION, the next item on the list, is a physical and moral necessity. The nature of its recreations is an index to the physical character of a people. Climate, of course, exercises an important influence. In the northern zone and as far south as the middle of the central zone the chief recreation is the consumption of choice food, and especially of fermented drinks. In the south the favourite amusements are spectacular displays, fetes, music, dancing and games of skill and chance. Almost everywhere anniversaries and the greater religious festivals are celebrated by family gatherings at a meal considerably more sumptuous than the ordinary repast. Even the poorest in Great Britain try to have one good dinner in the year, on Christmas or New Year's Day. Another common recreation is the use of tobacco, which is fast becoming universal. A considerable amount of pleasure can be obtained in

this way at a very trifling cost and this is probably the secret of its popularity. Of a higher type are those recreations which combine social duties and intercourse with the pleasures of the intellect. Story-telling, reading aloud, part-singing, musical and literary associations have become common among some sections of the working-classes of Europe. Amusements of this type have been organised by some employers to counteract the public house and other low forms of social diversion. If a comparative study of the recreations of the working-classes of Europe could be made it would be a useful guide to those interested in the welfare of these classes, and might occasionally prevent the adoption of utopian schemes of reform.

MEDICAL attendance is by no means universally within the reach of the working-classes, especially in the country. Lamentable as this often is from a physical point of view, it is still more so if we consider the mental distress of those who are compelled to witness the suffering of those they love without any power to alleviate it. Bearing this in mind it is not absurd to class the expenses connected with the preservation or restoration of health as undertaken for the satisfaction of moral needs.

THE needs of the working-classes in sickness are met in various ways.

THE practice of folk medicine, the leechcraft contemptuously called old wives' lore, the skill, partly natural, partly acquired, which most women and all mothers seem to possess, and the more special qualifications of the midwife and the unqualified practitioner do much. Among the shepherds of the steppes and, indeed, among shepherds and hunters everywhere there is many a leech of no mean ability. Women seem to possess great natural aptitude for the care of the sick, while men are more strongly attracted by the scientific side of medicine.

THE majority of employers supply medical aid to those in their service and under this form a new subvention seems to be developing all over Europe. The custom is most general in the mining industries. The hospitals and other medical and surgical institutions connected with some of the larger mining undertakings would bear comparison with those of many of our large cities. The hospitals established among the Siberian mines would not be out of place in London or Paris, and might be an improvement in many large European cities. Other modes of bringing medical aid within the reach of the working-classes are provided by these classes for themselves. In many communes the inhabitants combine to pay a doctor whose services are at the disposal of all the members. In this country various friendly societies have adopted the same plan, and many of their local branches pay resident medical officers who receive no fee except, in some cases, for midwifery practice. Hospitals endowed by private charity or by the municipality, dispensaries where only a nominal fee is charged, and many other combinations will readily suggest themselves.

THE interest on debts is not an important item in most working-class budgets. The lower ranks of the working-classes contract few debts, for the excellent reason that

they have only a limited credit. In many parts they are protected against their natural improvidence and the stratagems of usurers by the influence of their employers or by special institutions. The debts they contract towards their employers or landlords never bear interest. The interest charged by tradesmen on goods supplied on credit takes the form of an advance in price, amounting, it would appear, to about 15 per cent. Debts are most often contracted in order to complete the purchase of property. This is in reality an anticipation of future savings for the purpose of a more advantageous investment. When this is done by a provident man, he wipes out the debt and rises in his world, but where debts of this kind are contracted by an improvident man who buys without judgment or lives beyond his means, the property is soon loaded with mortgages. Not only should all interest on debts figure in the last section of the budget but an attempt should be made to understand the economic aspect of the debt.

DIRECT taxation does not press heavily on the working-class. Most of their taxes are paid indirectly in the form of a higher price. Where such indirect taxation has become a part of the custom of the country it is probably allowed for in the current wage, which would drop if the indirect tax were removed. It is a problem of considerable nicety to determine whether a reform in the system of taxation would permanently improve the condition of any section of the working-classes.

LAST of all comes the provision against unforeseen calamities by means of a system of insurance. In addition to a multitude of ordinary contingencies there are others incidental to the industrial conditions of western Europe. Such, for example, is the early breakdown of the breadwinner in many of the dangerous trades, and the danger of sudden, violent death in occupations like coal-mining or the manufacture of explosives. It may be true that the flower of the working-class can dispense with organised assurance against these and similar risks, but it is very certain that the large majority would be left without resources of any kind. Numerous insurance societies and organisations exist. They are financed in various ways; some by the shareholders and members, some by employers, others by various administrative groups or even by private philanthropy. All these modes of provision against disablement or death Le Play indicated in the last section of the budget.

SUCH was the method by which Le Play sought to present a picture of the life of any given family, and to afford facts for comparative study. The significance of the figures has already been indicated and it will be readily admitted that an immense mass of information would thus be accumulated in a convenient form. The value of the method will be more clearly apprehended when it is shown in a future chapter that there is nothing accidental in societies, but that every practice, tradition or ideal of any permanence has its root in the activities which have made the society what it is.

CHAPTER X

LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS

It is chiefly through his working-class budgets that Le Play is known in this country. The application of the concrete method to economic problems commended itself to a section of British economists represented by such men as Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Henry Higgs. Mr. Booth's monumental work on the life and labour of the poor of London is executed in a large measure along lines similar to those indicated by Le Play, though Mr. Booth has chosen a different statistical form. There is, however, another side to Le Play's work which is less well known in this country, though it is intimately connected with his researches into the actual condition of the working-classes. The working-class budget and monograph present facts without interpreting them. It was to the task of interpreting them that Le Play now set himself. Observation had shown him that there was infinite diversity amid apparent uniformity and a uniformity, less obvious but not less real, amid apparent diversity.

DURING the earlier years of his social study of different societies Le Play was constantly endeavouring to find the explanation of both the diversity and the uniformity. In 1837 he was sent to inspect the Donetz coalfield. Here he found himself on the steppes among a society quite unlike any with which he was acquainted. Instead of the type of family familiar in the west this society retained the patriarchal family as described in Old Testament history. The aged patriarch was supreme. His sons grew to manhood, married and became fathers in their turn yet still remained by their aged sire and obeyed his word as law. The relation between the family and the remote civil authorities was little more than nominal, yet peace and order reigned. The only occupation was that of shepherding. Grass and herbs were all the steppes produced, and it was, therefore, the natural home of herbivorous animals. The society which developed was necessarily a pastoral one. A sudden light broke over Le Play. The patriarchal family, the social organisation as a whole, even the very character of the people, was evidently an outcome of the conditions of their occupation. The steppe is at once so vast that growing numbers are no disadvantage, and so isolated that the family needs all the workers it can muster. Large flocks and herds require the care of sons and daughters and man-servants and maid-servants. Therefore adult sons remain beside their father instead of making homes for themselves. The steppe can support these and many more, and so there grows up the patriarchal family of the pastoral Hebrews described in the Bible.

If this was true of the steppe, Le Play asked himself, why not for other environments and other occupations? Eagerly he began to go over all the types he had studied, allowing for the influence of geographical conditions and the nature of the occupation, and endeavouring to trace the influence of these upon the institutions of the race.

The longer he reflected, the further he pursued the analysis, the clearer the connection became. Leaving the present for a while, he strove to recreate an earlier Europe, a Europe of steppe lands, forests and sea coasts. What was Europe before the growth of large industrial centres? What has been the history of Europe in terms of its occupations? What would be the effect of these on the type of family, on the customs of the society and of the broader outlines of the national character?

TESTING his results by the mass of facts he had observed, Le Play began to see that this was the key which he had long been seeking. The diversity of social types appeared to be undoubtedly due to the fact that every society has a history of its own; the uniformity is accounted for because the same causes produce the same effects. Thus, for example, the occupation of shepherding leads to the patriarchal family in some form or another. On the steppes where there are no disturbing factors we have it in its most typical form; but even among the pastoral Highlanders the ties of cousinship and kinship are almost infinite in their reach. In the same way certain races sprung from fishing ancestry have preserved another type of family adapted to their occupation. The Englishman is ignorant of the whereabouts of his fourteenth cousin because he comes of a stock where the various children go out into the world and make new homes for themselves. The energy of the Viking and of the races of Viking blood is hereditary and wrought in the blood. Yet if we go back far enough we shall find that the qualities which seem to have destined certain races for the empire of the world come originally from the habits of prompt decisive action acquired in the craft of the fisher and sailor. Other groups again never get on in the world. Such a race in the course of its history has passed through conditions in which it has evolved a wrong type of family and qualities of a wrong sort. Everywhere, in the life of societies as in the life of the individual, as a man soweth so shall he reap.

THE steppe, therefore, was for Le Play what the peak in Darien was for Cortes. Two oceans lay stretched before his eyes, the present and the past. "My eyes," he writes, "were suddenly opened to the true meaning of history and of contemporary facts". He saw for the first time what the complexity of western society disguises, that every occupation leads to the development of a certain type of family, adapted to the nature of the occupation. Around this family type spring up religious, moral and ethical ideals which become part of the soul of a nation and make it what it is. As to the occupation itself, this of course results, directly in simple and remotely in complex societies, from the sum of natural conditions, in the main geographical, which we call environment.

It is, of course, only in the simplest societies that one occupation with its corresponding family type prevails to the exclusion of every other. The more complex a society becomes the more varied are its occupations. Civilisation is the history

of man's struggle to become the master instead of the slave of his environment. Every victory won creates a new group of occupations. Hence the modern world shows a vast diversity of occupation and of family types, all of which have arisen from a few original types by processes analogous to those of evolution in the organic world. They are the outcome of the slow transformation of geographical, industrial and social conditions. This transformation is proceeding with greatly increased rapidity at the present day and hence the apparent chaos of social conditions.

It is impossible, therefore, to understand any society except in the light of its past history. To quote the words of a French writer,* "If we would understand a people it is not enough to observe, however carefully and exactly, the phenomena of its existence at a given moment. To grasp its true significance we must follow it back through its past and discover through what successive forms of occupation it has passed under the influence of the different environments in which it has been placed and of the various external influences by which it has been modified. From these result the tendencies, the traditions, the ideas, the social institutions, which leave a lasting impress and which taken together constitute the genius of a race." Viewed in the light of its evolutionary history anomalies disappear, tendencies explain themselves, and scientific analysis becomes possible.

HENCE the study of simple societies is to the student of the evolution of society what the study of palæontology is to the student of the evolution of biological forms. But the task of the former is in truth easier, for in his science there are no missing links. Societies are in existence at every stage of evolution. Nor need he go far in search of survivals of past stages of culture. The most modern society is also as old as the world. The right way, therefore, to study any society is to trace back its history and find from what simple type, from what fusion of simple types it has been evolved. The student must see how different environments have modified the occupations, and how these in turn have reacted not merely upon the social organisation but upon the whole intellectual, moral and emotional nature of the race. Such studies are essential to the legislator and the social reformer, whose work can only succeed in so far as it is congruous with the evolutionary history of the various groups affected. For a race, it must be remembered, is not homogeneous, but consists of groups of different occupational antecedents, and north differs from south, east from west, plain from upland, and inland from coast.

THIS brings us back to the monographs of typical working-class families. LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS, Le Play's collection of typical monographs, is much more than a mere statistical enquiry into the prosperity of the working-classes of Europe and might not inadequately be called THE ORIGIN OF SOCIAL SPECIES.

* LÉON POINSARD, LA SCIENCE SOCIALE, April, 1896.

THE first edition of *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS* appeared in 1855 and was quickly exhausted. The second edition remains the standard one. It consists of six volumes, the first of which is an explanation of the system of monographs and a general introduction to the study of social science as conceived by Le Play. The remaining five volumes consist of monographs of typical families, arranged according to the stability of the society to which they belong. The second volume, containing the first group of monographs, deals with the workers of the east and their offshoots in the Mediterranean, a people faithful to tradition, and owing their prosperity to their observance of the moral law, or Decalogue ; to the institution to the patriarchal family ; and to the abundance and regularity of the means of subsistence.

THE monographs included in this volume are :

- (1) A semi-nomad Bashkir shepherd of Eastern Russia.
- (2) A peasant of the steppes of Orenburg in Central Russia.
- (3) An iron worker of the Ural.
- (4) A carpenter and grain merchant of the gold washings near Ekaterinburg in the Ural.
- (5) A peasant of the basin of the Oka in Central Russia.
- (6) A Bulgarian iron worker of Samakowa.
- (7) Peasants of the plains of the Theiss.
- (8) Peasants of Busrah (Syria) living in community.
- (9) A carpenter of Tangier in Morocco.

THE third volume contains the monographs of families belonging to the second group. These are the workers of the north of Europe and their offshoots in the Baltic Sea, and the North Sea. These races are guided by a just admixture of tradition and innovation. They owe their prosperity to their observance of the moral law, to their family organisation and to the abundant and regular supply of the spontaneous productions of the soil and water. The families selected are :

- (1) An iron worker of Dannemora.
- (2) A foundry worker of Buskerud.
- (3) A miner of the Harz.
- (4) A gunsmith of Solingen.
- (5) A fisher of Marken.
- (6) A cutler of Sheffield.
- (7) A cutler of London.
- (8) A carpenter of Sheffield.
- (9) A foundry worker of Derbyshire.

THE three remaining volumes deal with the workers of western Europe, grouped as stable populations; disintegrating populations; and wholly disorganised populations.

THE stable populations, which are the subject of the fourth volume, are defined as remaining faithful to tradition in the face of innovation, as subject to the paternal authority and the moral law, and as supplementing the growing scarcity of the spontaneous productions of the earth by the institutions of common property, private property and *patronage*. The monographs are :

- (1) A foundry worker of Schemniz.*
- (2) A foundry worker of Hunsrück.
- (3) A *métayer* (or share-cropper) of Florence.
- (4) A whitesmith-roofer of Aix-les-Bains.
- (5) A *métayer* of Old Castile.
- (6) A fisher of S. Sebastian.
- (7) A cottager of Lower Brittany.
- (8) A soap-maker of Lower Provence.
- (9) A peasant of Lavedan.

THE fifth volume illustrates the condition of the disintegrating peoples who are attacked by innovation, forgetful of tradition, and indifferently obedient to the paternal authority of the moral law, and who supplement in an inadequate manner the growing scarcity of the spontaneous productions of the earth by means of the three institutions already named. The monographs are :

- (1) A joiner of Vienna.
- (2) A weaver of Godesberg.
- (3) A compositor of Brussels.
- (4) A miner of Pontgibaud.
- (5) A Basque peasant of Labourd.
- (6) An agricultural labourer of Morvan.
- (7) A cottager of the Champagne Pouilleuse.
- (8) A laundryman of Clichy.
- (9) A carpenter of Paris.

THE sixth and last volume is devoted to the study of disorganised peoples perverted by the spirit of innovation, contemptuous of tradition, in rebellion against the moral law and the paternal authority, and prevented by the disorganisation of labour and property from supplementing the deficiency of the spontaneous productions

* SELMECZBANYA OF BANSKA ŠTIAVNICA, Slovakia.—A.F.

of the earth by the institutions already mentioned. The monographs included in this volume are :

- (1) A miner of Idria.
- (2) A clock-maker of Geneva.
- (3) A cottager of the Laonnais.
- (4) A vine-grower of Aunis.
- (5) A weaver of Mamers.
- (6) A rag-picker of Paris.
- (7) An unskilled labourer of Paris.
- (8) A coat-maker of Paris.
- (9) A dock-worker of Port Marly.

CHAPTER XI

SIMPLE SOCIETIES*

LE PLAY found on the Russian steppes a type of family which obviously owed its peculiarities to the nature of its occupation, or, to go a step further back, to the nature of its environment. Reflection convinced him that this was no accident, and that the relation between geographical environment, occupation and social type would be found to be a constant one. Nor would this be true of simple societies only. Every complex society has developed from one or more simple types which have left an indelible mark on its institutions and racial character. To understand a complex society, therefore, it would first be necessary to study the simple forms out of which it developed.

THESE simple types are three in number. The world, before it was modified by the action of man, presented three typical environments :

Grass lands, or steppes.

Sea coasts.

Forests associated with varied soils.

EACH of these gave rise to a special group of occupations adapted to its character, and intimately connected with the geographical condition. These are

Shepherding on the grass lands.

Fishing on the coasts.

Hunting in the forests.

* In this account of the simple societies the author has followed the order of exposition of M. Edmond Demolins, the editor of *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE*, one of M. Le Play's most brilliant disciples. M. Demolins excelled in the masterly and lucid presentation of facts and the ablest analysis of the simple societies is from his pen. If, however, any reader has the curiosity to consult the *Précis Alphabétique* of *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS* he will find that almost every point of importance was noted by Le Play in one or other of the monographs.

EACH of these is capable, under suitable conditions, of developing into a great secondary type, the agricultural.

CORRESPONDING to each of these occupations arises a characteristic type of family. To discover the types associated with fishing and hunting societies a detailed examination of these societies is necessary.

SHEPHERDS

THE steppes of Asia comprise the whole of the central plateau and stretch across Turkestan, Siberia and Southern Russia, to the mouth of the Danube. This vast area, which exceeds Europe in size, is further increased if we include the plateau of Persia, Asia Minor, and Arabia. At the present time the breaking in of the European steppes is proceeding with great rapidity, but the Asiatic steppes for the most part remain intact. Owing to the elevation the winters are long and severe, and the ground is covered with snow for the greater part of the year. This melts with the advance of spring and the soaking soil is suddenly exposed to the full strength of the sun. Grass springs up with the most extraordinary rapidity, flowers of brilliant hue burst into beauty, and the desert soon blossoms as the rose. In a few weeks the grass is as much as six feet high and vegetation of a slower growth has to yield before its triumphant progress. Wind-swept seeds of forest trees do, indeed, often germinate before a single blade of grass is to be seen, but before they are more than an inch or two in height they are overborne by the grass, shut out from light and air, and doomed to perish in the struggle for existence.

THE families which first penetrated into the steppe found all the conditions necessary for existence. Great herds of horses, cattle, and other grammivorous animals roamed over the grassy plains, feeding on the fresh herbage in summer and in winter scratching away the snow that covered the sun-dried hay. All that was necessary was to assume the lordship of these flocks and herds and learn the shepherd's craft.

THE nature of the occupation has an immediate effect on the constitution of a pastoral society, existing in isolation. In the first place the shepherds are necessarily wanderers. Inasmuch as the whole prosperity of the community depends on the well-being of the flocks, the whole organisation of the society is adapted to their needs. If they prosper, great is the store of wealth, but if grass or water fail, or sickness smite the flock all is lost together. All the needs of man, food, shelter, raiment, warmth and light are supplied from this source, and if it fail there is no other. The flesh and milk of the oxen, sheep and goats supply food; their wool and skins provide raiment; their hair made into felt serves for the tent covering; the dried dung for fuel; the fat for artificial light. Fishing, the chase, and the gathering of wild fruits, may here and there, and now and then, add dainties to the store, but it is on the well-being of the flocks and herds that the prosperity of the whole society ultimately depends.

THIS in its turn depends on two things—grass and wells, green pastures and still waters. The grass is constantly failing, though the shepherd's wisdom will make the most of it. First he sends the horses into the long grass. Then these are driven a little further and their places taken by oxen and camels. When these can no longer manage to find food the sheep are turned in, and for a while find abundant pasture in the short nibbled grass. But the time comes at length when even these can crop no closer and then all must move on. Now one sees why the pastoral folk are dwellers in tents, for with wonderful rapidity the whole community is on the move. Carpets and rugs are quickly folded, the tents are struck and laid on camels, and the preparations for departure are complete. Leaving on one side the definite periodical migration there is a perpetual movement within a limited but relatively wide area. The sheep are perpetually pushing on the oxen and camels, as these are perpetually pushing on the horses. The van would stray beyond reach but for the watchful presence of their masters who spend their lives in the saddle and keep the stragglers within limits. This is work for the men; the larger the herds and flocks the more of them will be needed. There is need, too, of daughters and maid-servants to water the flocks, like Rebecca of old, to milk, to tend the young, or to take their share within the tents in the provision of food or raiment while the men are afield. The more sons and daughters and sons' wives and children's children, the greater is the capacity of the family for work. The family, therefore, differs essentially from the western type. Married sons remain beside their father with their wives and children. A great family grows up, of sons, grandsons, and of their children unto, it may be, the third and fourth generation.

THE authority of the patriarch is absolute; he is at once father, priest and king. He it is who possesses the store of traditional wisdom on the following of which the prosperity of the community—moral and material—depends. He is the guide on the pathless steppe. On the sea of grass, as on the sea of waters, the course must be steered by the constellations, the guide must be one who has watched the rising and setting of the stars for many a year, and who can read the book of the heavens with unerring certainty. Within that portion of the steppe covered by their wanderings he must know the traditional boundaries, and the limits which cannot be transgressed without involving the family in strife. He must know the wells, without which the beasts would perish of thirst, the places of shelter, the signs of storm, and the cure of disease. He must be at once astronomer, geographer, meteorologist, physician, and besides all this he must be calm with a confidence born of experience, wise to counsel, strong to command.

NOT in a few years is the needful lore gathered, and even then knowledge comes in vain if wisdom lingers. It is the old man, father and chief, who possesses the wisdom needful for a leader of men and the knowledge without which the whole party would

perish miserably in the wilderness, or fall by foeman's hands. Nowhere is it so true that knowledge is power as in the steppe. Thus it comes to pass that the most valuable man is not the stout youth, as in fishing or in hunting families, but the oldest man, who has lived longest and seen most. Hardly less vigorous than his son's sons, thanks to the life of open air and exercise, he is as able as they to perform the easy and simple labours of the pastoral life, while no young man can perform the functions peculiar to him. Hence at his death the patriarchal authority passes, as a rule, not to his son, even though, as often, he is a man advanced in middle life, but to the eldest brother of the dead chief, who is the eldest and presumably the wisest member of the family. Thus there is a good reason for the succession of brothers rather than sons among pastoral peoples, as for example in the case of the Sultans of Turkey.

EQUALLY clear is the connection between the nature of the occupation and the common ownership of the steppe. More would be lost than gained by the appropriation of part of the steppe as private property, for soon the chosen spot would be eaten bare and unless the flocks could move elsewhere they would perish for lack of food. It is more profitable to have a joint right to a large area than an exclusive right to a small one. The shepherd does not, like the farmer, contribute by his toil to the productiveness of the soil and has not the same motive for insisting on his individual right. It is the labour that man has put into the soil which, in the first place, justifies his claim to be considered the owner of it, and which, in the second place, makes him eager to assert it.

THE nature of his occupation also leaves its mark on the shepherd's character. Among the pastoral peoples of the steppes there is little change from the habits, customs and modes of thought of the shepherds of the Old Testament story. Sheep-keeping is an occupation which is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever, and therefore the shepherd is in the highest degree conservative of habits and ideas which are as useful to him as they were to his forefathers. The ascendancy of the elders further tends to discourage the spirit of innovation. This is the historic explanation of the unprogressiveness of the East.

In the second place the prayer "give us this day our daily bread" is daily fulfilled for the shepherd. There are none of the vicissitudes which make the tragedy of modern life, none of the habitual uncertainty in which thousands of our industrial classes continually live. Year by year the flocks and herds bring forth their increase, the udders milked dry to-day are full again to-morrow. When trouble comes it is in a form which human wisdom is powerless either to foresee or avert. Take as a typical case the ruin of the shepherd Job, "the lord of seven thousand sheep and three thousand camels and five hundred yoke of oxen and five hundred she-asses and a very great household, so that this man was the greatest of all the men of the

east". The Sabaeans fell upon the oxen and the asses and took them away and slew the servants with the sword; the fire of God fell from heaven and burned up the sheep and the servants; the Chaldeans fell upon the camels in three bands and carried them off, slaying the servants; and finally there came a great wind from the wilderness and overwhelmed his children in the downfall of their dwelling. Then the ruined man was himself smitten by disease. Against ills like these, whirlwind, lightning, sudden violence or pestilence what can man avail; hence the shepherd is a fatalist, taking no thought for the morrow so long as things go well, and meeting the ills he is powerless to avert with the grim consolation that "it is Kismet".

It follows that the ideals of the east and west are wholly incompatible. The progressive self-reliant European cannot understand the conservative fatalistic Oriental, not knowing or not remembering that these things have been wrought into him by the traditions of thousands of years of pastoral life. The Oriental is bewildered by and contemptuous of the western passion for putting the world right by the intervention of a central government. The only authority they know is that of the patriarch, whom no one disobeys because it would be so foolish to do so. If he is a man to disobey he is a man in the wrong place and his career is cut short, not by the intervention of trustees or outsiders of any kind, but by the sword of the man likeliest to succeed him. Hence the perpetual assassination of an incompetent or unpopular Sultan. If he is fit for his place he is obeyed without question. Officialism is therefore wholly artificial in such a society and almost inevitably corrupt. Unfortunately for east and west, more interference by the central government and more officialism are the remedies which western reformers generally propose for the ills of the east.

ABOUT the side of the pastoral character which we may call good from a western point of view there is no room for difference of opinion. The steppe dwellers are drawn for us in the pages of the Greek and Latin writers of antiquity in the same colours as by the travellers of to-day, simple, uncorrupted, respectful of the purity of the home, of the plighted word and of the claims of hospitality. It might easily be shown how this, too, is an outcome of the family life and how naturally there rise to the lips of one who is the brother or cousin of all his community the beautiful words used by the Tartar chief to Abbé Huc, "Honoured sir, all men are brothers". The kindly care of the beasts, the service willingly rendered to the sick or weary, the nurture of the motherless lambs, all combine to make the shepherd a "good shepherd". "Gentleness is thus the necessary education of infancy, kindness the unceasing occupation of age, and this kindly life is the essential biography of vast populations throughout ages, action forming habit and habit character, and character life for the race as for the individual. In sheep keeping, morals and

economies uniquely coincide." The steppe, with its almost inexhaustible means of subsistence, allows considerable scope for the expansion of a pastoral society. It is long, therefore, before the population becomes too dense for its resources. When this occurs the story of Abraham and Lot is repeated. A new leader is chosen, a man of fighting age, and he leads forth his men to pastures new. The effect may be far reaching. Great hordes from the steppes have at various epochs overwhelmed Europe and Asia. Wave after wave of pastoral invasion has broken over these continents, along the steppes which offered an easy road. The onsets of the terrible Huns or the hardly less terrible Turks were similarly caused by the process of expansion on the remote steppes.

THIS process of expansion is a natural and easy one for a pastoral people. It is but the extension over a wider area of the nomad life. Their tents and furnishings are constructed in such a way as to be quickly transported, and it makes little difference whether the goal is near or far. If we compare this with the difficulty of mobilising a sedentary population it will be easy to see how greatly the advantage would lie with the nomads. The conditions of pastoral life provide a ready instrument of transport. Life is passed in the saddle, and thus every group of shepherds is potentially a regiment of cavalry.

THE greatest difficulty, perhaps, which besets the expeditions of a sedentary people is that of provisioning the host. To the pastoral invaders, advancing across the steppe lands of Eurasia, this was no difficulty at all. They drove their flocks with them. In a word the daily habits of the pastors are those of an invading army, and having therefore no difficulties of reorganisation to contend with they have invariably swept the sedentary population before them.

TERRIBLE as these pastoral invasions have been, and wild as the invading hordes have seemed to the sedentary peoples over whom they poured like a devouring sea, they have in the long run, Le Play thinks, been a blessing to the world. "These pastoral and patriarchal races," he writes, "have one distinctive quality; they are eminently well fitted to found, to recruit, and, if need be, to reform the great sedentary agricultural nations. The constant contact, since the remote historical times, between the pastors and cultivators of China, is in itself enough to account for the extraordinary duration of that empire."

SUCH is the type of pastoral society as it existed in the days of Abraham, and as it still exists on the great Asiatic steppes. It is, however, considerably modified according to the nature of the steppe lands.

STEPPEs, says M. Demolins, may belong to four groups. They may be steppes of the great plateaux; steppes of the lower plains; steppes of the small plateaux; and steppes of abrupt slopes.

THE steppes of the lower plains are widely distributed. The southern part of Asiatic and European Russia offers a good example. Unlike the steppes of the great plateaux they are suitable for agriculture, since the lower altitude makes the winter less severe and irrigation is facilitated by the fact that the river banks hardly rise above the level of the water. The absence of regular rain is a great hindrance to the cultivation of the steppes, but along the river banks irrigation and therefore cultivation presents little difficulty. With cultivation the population becomes agglomerated, and instead of living exclusively on the produce of his flock the nomad begins to barter a portion of such produce for the cereals of his agricultural neighbour, and ultimately to clear a portion of the steppe and cultivate cereals himself. He thus becomes semi-nomadic and ultimately sedentary. The nomad habit, however, and the patriarchal family long persist, as among the pastoral populations of Russia.

THE steppes of small plateaux are frequent in the Alps and in the Pyrenees. Their elevation makes them unsuitable for cultivation, but though they are wholly devoted to pasture, their narrow limits have led to the disappearance of the nomad habit and of the pastoral family.

THE steppes of abrupt slopes are found on the sides of mountains. They are incapable of cultivation and unfit for habitation. The flocks are driven up their steep slopes in summer and return to the valleys in winter. One feature and only one is common to all these varieties of steppes: the pastoral art and the community of soil.*

FISHERS

IN the north of Europe a society of a very different type developed. The shores of the North Sea are wholly unfitted for societies of a pastoral or agricultural type, but are admirably adapted for the development of a fishing society. Norway possesses typical advantages. The shore is deeply cut by fjords, giving a vast extent of coastline; these fjords are admirable fishing grounds and also natural havens. It is fringed with islands which may be regarded not merely as stepping stones out to the open sea but as natural breakwaters, within which fishing can be carried on in relatively tranquil waters. The interior, on the other hand, is a mass of mountains and plateaux, barren and inhospitable. Hence the towns of Norway are all on the seaboard and it is to the sea and not to the interior that the population looks for support.

FORTUNATELY for Norway the sea which washes her indented, island-fringed shore is one of the richest fishing grounds in the world. The genial influence of the Gulf Stream is strongly felt, ameliorating the conditions of life in the waters of this northern sea by favouring the development of those minute organisms on which

* Every reader is advised to read Geddes' article on *The Flower of the Grass* in THE EVERGREEN.

fish largely feed. Its shallowness makes it a kind of natural refuge. Salmon, cod and herring, as well as less important fish, teem in its waters.

Of these the salmon is the most important. "The salmon," says Le Play, "is, of all the spontaneous productions, that which has contributed most to the multiplication and stability of the Northern populations. It is true that in Norway, for instance, the herring, cod and other species found in the fishing grounds near the coast contribute more to the food supply than the salmon, but the latter, considered as a means of support for a continental population, is of greater importance. To a sedentary race the salmon is more precious than the salt water fish because it comes up the rivers and offers itself to the net far up among the mountains. As food it is more valuable than the fresh water inhabitants of the same rivers, inasmuch as it derives its chief nourishment from salt and not from fresh water."

THE breeding habits of the salmon are, of course, well known. Great shoals migrate up the fresh water streams every spring for the purpose of depositing eggs and hatching the young. But for this the interior of Norway would hardly be habitable. With the coming of the salmon, food becomes abundant. The inhabitants of both Norway and Sweden prefer to construct their dwellings near streams or falls. "The sedentary peoples of the north," Le Play remarks, "thus, through the generosity of natural agents, receive directly the nourishment which the nomads of the east procure with the aid of their flocks by continual wanderings."

THE young salmon spends the first two years of its life in its native stream but the adult salmon turns back again to the sea at the end of the breeding season. Those who had come to depend on it for food soon learned to follow it seaward. At first, doubtless the prentice fisher folk warily confined themselves to the comparatively secure fjords and island channels, venturing further and further from land as skill brought courage. Following whither the salmon led, the northern fishers have developed into the dauntless and hardy seafaring folk we know.

NEXT in importance to the salmon fishery rank those of cod and herring. Thousands of boats and tens of thousands of men are employed in the cod fishery and in a good season millions of fish are taken. Every part of the cod is of use. Oil of great medicinal value is obtained from the liver. The residuum serves for manure. The bladder is used for making glue. The flesh is dried and exported. The roe is employed for bait. Abundance of cod means a diminution of mortality and general prosperity to the furthest confines of Northern Europe.

THE herring is hardly less important. Great shoals arrive periodically at different parts of the coast, and millions are annually caught, dried and exported.

THE whale has completed the seafaring education which the salmon began. It has inured the Scandinavian fishermen to the dangers of the high seas and of

protracted expeditions, thus training up that race of Vikings whose habits of endurance and powers of expansion have left their mark on the history of Europe.

FISH, therefore, and primarily the salmon, have played the same part in the evolution of northern Europe as the grass lands of the steppe have done in the east, determining, in the first place, the occupation, and through this the organisation of the family and of society.

THE first thing to notice is that the Scandinavian fisheries, especially the herring fishery, are carried on in small boats, with a crew of but three or four men. In the early stages of the evolution of a fishing society, when the only fishing ground would be the safe waters of the home fjord, only small craft would be employed, since these would be most easily managed in the narrower fjords and nothing would be gained by increasing the size of the boat and crew. The Norwegian fishing boats of to-day are for the most part small, without decks and holding but two or three men. The restricted size of such a boat has an obvious and immediate effect on the grouping of the family. Take a patriarchal family of a very moderate size, consisting, let us say, of four brothers, each with three or four sons. One boat will not hold them all, and therefore they will man three or four boats. Each boat needs a skipper whose word is law, and thus instead of one supreme patriarch, we have several skippers each absolute master on his own boat, but quite independent of the others. This is a state of things widely different from the patriarchal family, where all authority is vested in the one wisest and therefore eldest man. The nature of the occupation, the sudden dangers that arise at sea and call for instant action immediately result in the creation of several heads, on a footing of equality towards each other.

THIS, however, is only the beginning. In our imaginary case each boat's crew will naturally consist of a father and his three or four sons. From a boat for each father and his son to a house for each father and his children is but a single step. The parental authority is not thereby diminished, for the father is skipper in the boat and master in his own house. The difference is that the authority is in the hands of several fathers instead of one ancestor. Thus where a pastoral society comes into contact with or is transformed into a fishing society, the stages in the dissolution of the patriarchal family are the creation of a number of small boats, the co-existence of as many skippers as there are boats, and ultimately the co-existence of as many families as there are skippers in boats.

ANOTHER important difference between the pastoral and fishing family comes from the fact that fishing is an occupation which is carried on away from home. The tents can follow the flock over the sea of grass, but not over the sea of water. The fixed homestead replaces the mobile tent, and the fishing society becomes sedentary. From this home, which will naturally be the small port or fishing village which

serves as a market, the boats go out, at first hugging the land, but later venturing beyond even the outer isles. The day of absence grows into an absence of many days, and the father is little at home. His place is filled by his wife who remains by the hearth, caring for the younger children, and domestic animals, looking after the house and garden, and selling or curing the surplus fish. The discipline of these complex activities and the exercise of authority necessitated by the constant absence of the father, make the fisher-wife a woman of strong individuality, and give her a status impossible in a pastoral community. In all fishing societies, or societies of this origin, there is no more striking feature than the position of the women. Whether as Norman chatelaine, ruling a wide domain while her husband follows the banner of his lord, or as Newhaven fish-wife with her fish trains and regular customers, we find everywhere the tendency to widen the woman's sphere and regard her as the equal and helpmate of man. The tendency persists after the simple society has grown complex, but the historical explanation lies, if we go back far enough, in the unavoidable absence of the man when a homestead replaced the tent, and the sea of water the sea of grass. What was then convenience is now convention.

THE sea is inexhaustible and the harvest that it yields is of no man's sowing. The fishing grounds, therefore, like the steppes, are the common property of the whole community. But with the boat it is different. In its construction or acquisition capital has been expended and moreover its capacity is limited. This is equally true of the homestead. While, therefore, the fishing grounds are enjoyed in common, the boat and homestead are held as private property by a family of very restricted size. This difference in the nature of property-right in the two societies reacts again on the organisation of the family. As the sons grow up and become fathers the boat becomes too small. One of two things must happen. Either some of the sons must get boats for themselves, or some of them must turn their hand to something else, especially as the profession will cease to pay if it is overcrowded. The father chooses one of his children to inherit the homestead after his death. He finds a boat or the equivalent for his other sons, and portions for the girls. This taxes severely the resources of the family and falls with special weight upon the heir, now associated with his father. If the father lives to the normal age, he remains to middle life working for the good of the family, but deriving little benefit for himself. His brothers and sisters meanwhile get their shares, new boat, money, marriage portion, or whatever it may be. If the father dies, the heir's position is not bettered, since he has to fill a father's place to the younger children. Bearing in mind that vigorous races marry young and are very prolific, it will follow in many cases that by the time such a man has put the youngest of his father's children out in the world it will be time to think of settling his own eldest child. In theory, therefore, under the regime of a single heir, the latter is sacrificed to the interests of the family and not the interests of the family to him. At the same time, he has an incentive to

protracted expeditions, thus training up that race of Vikings whose habits of endurance and powers of expansion have left their mark on the history of Europe.

FISH, therefore, and primarily the salmon, have played the same part in the evolution of northern Europe as the grass lands of the steppe have done in the east, determining, in the first place, the occupation, and through this the organisation of the family and of society.

THE first thing to notice is that the Scandinavian fisheries, especially the herring fishery, are carried on in small boats, with a crew of but three or four men. In the early stages of the evolution of a fishing society, when the only fishing ground would be the safe waters of the home fjord, only small craft would be employed, since these would be most easily managed in the narrower fjords and nothing would be gained by increasing the size of the boat and crew. The Norwegian fishing boats of to-day are for the most part small, without decks and holding but two or three men. The restricted size of such a boat has an obvious and immediate effect on the grouping of the family. Take a patriarchal family of a very moderate size, consisting, let us say, of four brothers, each with three or four sons. One boat will not hold them all, and therefore they will man three or four boats. Each boat needs a skipper whose word is law, and thus instead of one supreme patriarch, we have several skippers each absolute master on his own boat, but quite independent of the others. This is a state of things widely different from the patriarchal family, where all authority is vested in the one wisest and therefore eldest man. The nature of the occupation, the sudden dangers that arise at sea and call for instant action immediately result in the creation of several heads, on a footing of equality towards each other.

THIS, however, is only the beginning. In our imaginary case each boat's crew will naturally consist of a father and his three or four sons. From a boat for each father and his son to a house for each father and his children is but a single step. The parental authority is not thereby diminished, for the father is skipper in the boat and master in his own house. The difference is that the authority is in the hands of several fathers instead of one ancestor. Thus where a pastoral society comes into contact with or is transformed into a fishing society, the stages in the dissolution of the patriarchal family are the creation of a number of small boats, the co-existence of as many skippers as there are boats, and ultimately the co-existence of as many families as there are skippers in boats.

ANOTHER important difference between the pastoral and fishing family comes from the fact that fishing is an occupation which is carried on away from home. The tents can follow the flock over the sea of grass, but not over the sea of water. The fixed homestead replaces the mobile tent, and the fishing society becomes sedentary. From this home, which will naturally be the small port or fishing village which

serves as a market, the boats go out, at first hugging the land, but later venturing beyond even the outer isles. The day of absence grows into an absence of many days, and the father is little at home. His place is filled by his wife who remains by the hearth, caring for the younger children, and domestic animals, looking after the house and garden, and selling or curing the surplus fish. The discipline of these complex activities and the exercise of authority necessitated by the constant absence of the father, make the fisher-wife a woman of strong individuality, and give her a status impossible in a pastoral community. In all fishing societies, or societies of this origin, there is no more striking feature than the position of the women. Whether as Norman chatelaine, ruling a wide domain while her husband follows the banner of his lord, or as Newhaven fish-wife with her fish trains and regular customers, we find everywhere the tendency to widen the woman's sphere and regard her as the equal and helpmate of man. The tendency persists after the simple society has grown complex, but the historical explanation lies, if we go back far enough, in the unavoidable absence of the man when a homestead replaced the tent, and the sea of water the sea of grass. What was then convenience is now convention.

THE sea is inexhaustible and the harvest that it yields is of no man's sowing. The fishing grounds, therefore, like the steppes, are the common property of the whole community. But with the boat it is different. In its construction or acquisition capital has been expended and moreover its capacity is limited. This is equally true of the homestead. While, therefore, the fishing grounds are enjoyed in common, the boat and homestead are held as private property by a family of very restricted size. This difference in the nature of property-right in the two societies reacts again on the organisation of the family. As the sons grow up and become fathers the boat becomes too small. One of two things must happen. Either some of the sons must get boats for themselves, or some of them must turn their hand to something else, especially as the profession will cease to pay if it is overcrowded. The father chooses one of his children to inherit the homestead after his death. He finds a boat or the equivalent for his other sons, and portions for the girls. This taxes severely the resources of the family and falls with special weight upon the heir, now associated with his father. If the father lives to the normal age, he remains to middle life working for the good of the family, but deriving little benefit for himself. His brothers and sisters meanwhile get their shares, new boat, money, marriage portion, or whatever it may be. If the father dies, the heir's position is not bettered, since he has to fill a father's place to the younger children. Bearing in mind that vigorous races marry young and are very prolific, it will follow in many cases that by the time such a man has put the youngest of his father's children out in the world it will be time to think of settling his own eldest child. In theory, therefore, under the regime of a single heir, the latter is sacrificed to the interests of the family and not the interests of the family to him. At the same time, he has an incentive to

industry and thrift in the hope of ultimately enjoying the family property free from all charges.

It is easily seen how the father's choice comes in most cases to rest on the eldest son. The pathos of the fisherman's life is that any stormy night may leave his wife a widow and his children fatherless. Well for all if he has a stout lad to fill his place. The first thing a fisherman's son remembers hearing from his father is that he must be good to his mother and the little ones if anything happens to his father. He will be a man first ; his father looks to him. Here, again, convenience becomes convention, and crystallises into promogeniture.

Not universally, however. In many parts of Europe, among descendants of a fisher stock, the heir may renounce the inheritance and its duties. M. Demolins cites the case of a Basque peasant the eldest of six children, who thus renounced his claim. " You see," he said, in explaining his conduct, " it is a serious charge. You have to educate your younger brothers and sisters, give them a start by paying them their share, provide for the old people, entertain the family on anniversaries and festive occasions, and make a home for those who don't marry, or for those who have not done well at what they tried. All your savings go that way." He went on to explain that instead of this he had taken what was considered as an equivalent, and with that and his savings he had bought a house and land and had no one to think of but his own children.

FROM the restricted limits of the boat and its indivisibility, therefore, we get a type of family, to which Le Play gave the name of *Famille souche*, or stock family. Its characteristic feature is the handing on of the family property intact to an heir chosen by the father, who seconds him in his efforts to start the other children in life, and fills a father's place to them in the event of his father's early death. The property of the family is not depreciated in value by a forced sale for the purposes of division at the father's death. Thus the family remains stable from generation to generation and a source of strength to its members. At the same time the spirit of initiative is developed, for the younger ones have either to succeed for themselves or be a burden on the family if they fail. This is not often the case. They come of a good stock which has laid to heart the lessons a boat teaches. A moment's delay in attending to the sail, a little inattention to orders, or a tardy attention, may prove fatal in a sudden danger at sea ; safety depends on prompt obedience and instant action. These things become instinctive in a fishing stock, and therefore its sons usually make their way in the world. The Anglo-Saxon expansion is the best example of this.

A TYPE of family in which one son has to follow the beaten track while the others have to strike out paths for themselves is at once conservative and progressive. The conservative tendency is embodied in the father and the heir, the progressive

in the education of the cadets. Such a type is possessed of unique powers of resistance and adapts itself to the most unlike conditions. The admirable qualities of the family type goes far, in Le Play's opinion, to explain the predominance of the nations sprung from a fisher stock.

WE have seen that in a fishing society the father's authority is not less than among the pastors. In both cases its sanction is a natural one, lying in the fact that disobedience is dangerous. There is always actual or possible danger at sea, against which the father's superior experience is the best safeguard. He is master in the boat, and as a consequence at home. On the other hand, he is very little at home, except for the intervals of rest. No doubt he will take the lads out with him one after another to teach them how to manage a boat, but a great part of their education, intellectual and moral, must be got from someone who has more spare time. Thus we early find the beginning of specialisation of different kinds and consequently a tendency to greater complexity than in a pastoral community where practically everybody does the same kind of work. This makes more openings for the younger children. Thus the two things act and react on each other, with increasing complexity as the result. The most important result, however, of the father's long and frequent absences from home is the early development of civil authority. The schoolmaster to teach, the priest to exhort, the policeman to constrain and the judge to punish, become necessary when the father is away in his boat and the mother is at the nearest inland town selling fish. This is in sharp contrast to the condition of things in a pastoral society where all authority is vested in the patriarch.

HISTORICALLY this has had a remarkable effect on the development of the nations sprung respectively from a pastoral or a fishing stock. The latter have a habitual familiarity with the division of authority for convenience of administration, showing itself as a genius for government. Hence their conquests are stable and permanent. To the shepherds, on the other hand, the intervention of authorities external to the family is inconceivable, and opposed to every tradition. They can oppress but not govern the conquered races. Hence pastoral conquests have little permanence. An Attila, a Genghis Khan, a Tamerlane may sweep all before him, but he in turn passes and is gone. This inability of pastoral to govern sedentary races organised on a different family type is the historical explanation of the sore spot of Europe. The Turk is a pastoral invader, unfamiliar with any administration except by the family, and failing, therefore, as all shepherds fail, in endeavouring to administer government on a different basis.

RETURNING, therefore, to the question of environment and occupation as determining all the rest, we find that the fisher is at once nomadic and sedentary, a nomad with a boat instead of a horse, but with a settled home. The limited size of the boat substitutes the authority of many fathers for that of one ancestor, and together

with its indivisibility leads to the system of a single heir, resulting in the permanence of the family from generation to generation. The younger children, also half nomadic, as much at home on a boat as the shepherd on his horse, are compelled to seek their fortunes, and the result is a race of Vikings, colonists and explorers. The frequent absence of the father raises the status of the womenfolk, making the daughters of the race worthy of its sons, and tending to improve the breed in each generation. It further compels the father to act through deputies, resulting in a habitual capacity for administration. The genius for colonisation and discovery added to this inbred capacity for government ensures to the nations of this stock a permanent and ever expanding empire.

INTO the historical details of the expansion of the Northmen during the first thousand years of our era, it is unnecessary to enter. The establishment of the Saxons in Britain, the descents of Scandinavian pirates on the coasts of France, the triumphant progress of the Goths in southern and eastern Europe, are matters rather for the historian. We have historical evidence, and we might have inferred from what has been said of the character of the stock family and the destiny for which its younger sons were educated, that these Viking expeditions were not, as in the case of the shepherds, migrations of families but were wholly composed of young men. This is a fact actually noted by chroniclers, and it explains why all these invaders have been fused with the conquered races instead of, as in the case of the Turks, being merely superimposed. Their small number prevented them from creating a caste, and as they had not brought wives with them they married conquered women. A case in point is the marriage of Rollo, the Norman chief, to Gisela, the daughter of Charles the Simple. The children spoke the mother's language and the traces of the invading people were soon obliterated.

HUNTERS

THE forests which originally covered a great part of western Europe are now to a large extent cleared. We do not find in Europe an extant specimen of a society living entirely by the chase, though we may still find traces of hunter organisation and ethics among the complex societies of modern Europe.

VIRGIN forests, however, still exist in various parts of the world, notably in Africa, Siberia and polar North America. But the greatest forest area of the world is the vast equatorial forest which covers a great part of the basin of the Amazon, Orinoco and the rivers of Guiana. Here we find societies still at the hunting or savage stage of development.

THE forest region of these river basins is bounded on the west by the Andes, on the south by the mountains which separate the basins of the Amazon and Paraguay, on the north by the Caribbean Sea, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. This vast

area, shut in by mountains and sea, is covered with a dense and almost impenetrable forest, intersected by a network of the great rivers just named and their innumerable tributaries. Though so numerous, the rivers are of little use for communication, owing to the numerous falls and rapids, due partly to the natural configuration of the region, and partly to the debris brought down by the rivers in flood. The Indians of the forest are isolated both from the outer world and from each other and all conditions are unfavourable for the growth of solidarity.

IN the steppes we saw that a short rainy period resulted in grass outstripping all competitors in the struggle for existence. The opposite phenomenon occurs in the Amazon basin. Rain falls from June to December, and the trees profit by it to push far ahead of all rivals, shutting them out from light and air. In the steppe, grass is victorious over forest, but here the forest has its revenge and grass is almost completely absent.

THE conditions necessary for the domestication of animals are therefore absent too, and the chase, together with fishing in the rivers and the gathering of wild fruits, is the sole means of subsistence. Besides edible plants, febrifuges and other medicinal plants indispensable in these fever swamps, the wandering Indian tribes obtain sugar, the means of providing artificial light, and what is still more important, abundance of turtle eggs. At some seasons they procure an ample supply of fish from the Amazon and its tributaries; at others they depend solely on the chase. Amid this abundance they have no settled home but are forced to move from place to place to procure each in its due season.

THE qualities essential to the hunter are agility, address and strength. These are attributes of the young in which the old are to a large extent deficient. It follows, therefore, that not only are the young soon independent of their parents but that the old come ultimately to be a burden, consuming more than they produce. Here, for the first time we find an occupation which places the young at an advantage and the old at an actual disadvantage. The paternal authority is correspondingly weakened. The first immediate result of the occupation of hunting is the ascendancy of the young, the diminution of respect for the old, and a corresponding weakening of the strength of family ties.

IN the second place individualism is pushed to its extreme limit. Shepherding associates together the whole family, fishing the men only, hunting is best performed alone. The whole quarry is then the prize of the lucky man. As soon, therefore, as a youth can shoot, he is actually better off without his parents and brothers than he would be if he contributed to the common stock. He is in the position to marry and become the head of a family himself. All that is necessary for a new home is a rude shelter of logs and branches, and such simple accessories

as can easily be made from skins, turtle shells, or the forest trees. To this are added bows and arrows for the chase and a canoe. The whole can be made in a few days.

THE conditions of a hunter's life are, therefore, easy. Food is abundant and easily procured. The chase is the most attractive of pursuits, even to civilised men ; with the savage it is a passion. But the real problem of all societies begins just when population has reached the limit of subsistence. This is the critical moment and the destiny of a people is determined by the solution it finds. The pastoral peoples solve it by swarming off, the fishing peoples by a process akin to colonisation. The solution among hunting peoples is to destroy the surplus population outright. True there is some tendency to resort to a rude agriculture, but the inexperience of the young and their impatience of a toil at once hard and not immediately remunerative makes the success very small. There is one plan which diminishes the number of mouths to fill, and at the same time increases the actual resource. Many savage societies solve the problem of over population by resorting to cannibalism. The old will oftenest fall victims, first because they are least able to escape, and secondly because they consume more than they produce.

THE same tendency to destroy the useless members, the very old, the very young, and the very weak, is seen in the course of the migrations, often long and difficult, which hunters are called upon to make. The shepherd has his horse, the fisher has his boat, and for them transport is easy. But the canoe of the savage is by no means comparable to the fishing bark. The rivers are impeded by rapids, and choked by debris ; the forest is pathless, and to be penetrated only in the Indian file. Under such conditions migration is difficult enough for the most able-bodied, and as family ties are lightly regarded, nothing seems more natural than to abandon the old, the sick and the children.

COMING to the question of property, we find that the forest, like the steppe or the sea, is no man's. It has been created by no man's labours, it is necessary to all and it is the property of all. The implements of the chase, and the rude shelter, are of course the property of the individual, but they are of so little value that they can hardly be reckoned property. The only thing which a hunter can be said really to own is his own skill and strength, which are exclusively personal possessions.

THERE is, therefore, nothing to bind families together, no service which age and experience can render, no accumulated wealth to enjoy. "The family," says Le Play, "is reduced among hunting peoples to its simplest form. It is formed by the union of a young couple, increased temporarily by the birth of children, reduced by the early separation of its adult members, and finally utterly destroyed by the death of the parents. Individuals retain only those ties of kindred which are

indispensable for the preservation of the race." To this type of family Le Play gives the very suitable name of unstable family.

THE characteristic mark of the unstable family is that there is no continuity between the succeeding generations. The young, early able to shift for themselves, are not saturated by the tradition of their ancestors nor moulded by the ideas and habits of their parents. The pastoral peoples have their sacred books, their legends and traditions of measureless antiquity; the fishing peoples have their sagas handed from father to son, from generation to generation. But savages have no past, for every family dies out after a single generation, and a man does not know who his grandfather was. Thus savages have no history perpetuated by oral or written tradition. "Who," asks M. Demolins, "knows the history of the savages of America or of Australia or of New Zealand?"

THE organisation of pastoral and fishing societies seems to prove that in proportion as circumstances restrict the area of the father's authority, there develops a corresponding importance of external authority. Among hunters the father's authority is reduced to a minimum and consequently whatever authority exists outside the family should be of almost despotic force. Some sort of leadership is necessary for repelling the constant attacks of neighbouring tribes, and the chief thus constituted will naturally be the strongest man. As a rule his power will be exercised capriciously and despotically, and accompanied with such excesses of ferocity as may be expected among a people addicted to hunting, guilty, at any rate occasionally, of cannibalism and accustomed to leave the infirm or aged to perish of hunger and disease. To quote M. Demolins' happy phrase, "the permanent state of war develops the authority of the chief; the habits of the chase render it arbitrary and cruel; and the instability and weakness of the family render it despotic". Illustrations will occur to the mind of every student of travel or of missionary work.

It would seem superfluous to point out that hunters, unlike shepherds or fishers, have no power of expansion. Their doom is to dwindle and perish. They have no means of transport, no power of concerted action except for repelling attack. So long as the forest is uncleared, equilibrium between population and subsistence is maintained by natural checks, like war and disease, or by artificial checks, like infanticide and cannibalism. With the clearing of the forest comes the contraction and ultimate disappearance of a hunting society.

THIS examination of simple societies is important because of the light thrown on history and on our complex modern society. In the latter it is difficult and well-nigh impossible to determine whether the forces at work are accidental or essential. In a simple society, where many of the accidental factors are eliminated, it becomes evident that the whole organisation, character and ideals of a society depend ultimately on the nature of its environment.

As a direct consequence of the nature of the environment we find three typical occupations by which simple societies obtain a subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature ;

1. Pasturage on the steppes.
2. Fishing on the coasts.
3. Hunting in the forests.

THE first result of the occupation is shown in the mode of life.

1. The shepherds are nomadic and their homes follow their flocks.
2. The fishers have a nomadic occupation but a settled home.
3. The hunters are nomadic, with rudely improvised homes.

THE second result of the occupation is shown in the nature of the family, which is :

1. Stable among shepherds, and of the type known as patriarchal.
2. Stable among fishers, of the type known as the stock family.
3. Unstable among hunters.

IN the first all the sons settle at the father's hearth.

IN the second one son carries on the family line in the ancestral home, while the others found new homes.

IN the third all the children break off at the earliest opportunity and a family subsists for but one generation.

CORRESPONDING to these types of family we have characteristic modes of maintaining equilibrium between population and the means of subsistence.

Shepherds expand by organising associated swarms having a ready means of migration in the horse.

Fishers expand by individual colonisation, having a ready means of migration in the boat.

Hunters contract, by destroying surplus population, having no means of migration.

THE nature of occupation and of family combine to produce a racial character.

Pastoral peoples are conservative.

Fishing peoples are progressive.

Hunting peoples are decadent.

ON the opposite page these results are shown in tabular form (Table I).

THE conditions of a pastoral society evidently afford the most ample resources with the least labour. But the superiority of the pastoral peoples is due less to their material well-being than to their moral and intellectual condition. The grown-up

sons do not, like the young hunters, tend to constitute small independent families, but are retained beside the aged head of the family by the nature of their occupation. They are consequently subject to his authority and obliged to conform to the ideals, manners and customs of which he is the embodiment. Such a society, though unprogressive if judged according to western ideals, is morally and economically stable.

TABLE I: THE THREE TYPES OF FAMILY

<i>Nature of environment</i>	Steppe	Coasts	Forest
<i>Nature of spontaneous production</i>	Domestic animals	Fish	Wild animals
<i>Character of Means of subsistence</i>	Abundant and regular means of subsistence	Abundant and regular means of subsistence	Abundant but precarious means of subsistence
<i>Occupation</i>	Pasturage	Fishing	Hunting
<i>Habit of Life</i>	Nomadic	Sedentary	Nomadic
<i>Character of Family</i>	Stable	Stable	Unstable
<i>Type of family</i>	Patriarchal ; all sons remain at home	Stock ; one son remains at home ; the others found new homes	All children settle away from home
<i>Capacity for Expansion</i>	Expand	Expand	Contract
<i>Mode of expansion</i>	Swarms on horse-back	Individual colonisation or in small bands of adventurers in boats	Surplus destroyed by war, infanticide, cannibalism, etc.
<i>Racial Character</i>	Conservative	Progressive	Decadent

THE most progressive races of the world are those descended from fishing ancestry and organised in stock families. It is the special excellence of this type of family that while progressive it remains healthily conservative. It is a middle term between the unstable family which settles all its children abroad, and the patriarchal which keeps them all beside the patriarch. The settled home and sedentary life lead to progress in the material arts of life. Stimulated first by the necessity of building boats and homes of a permanent nature, the fishing races have to a large extent been pioneers of mechanical invention. The pastoral peoples, on the other hand, have led the way in science, philosophy and religion. The wandering shepherds were the first astronomers, geographers and mathematicians, and, for ages, the most learned physicians. Brought face to face with the immensity of the infinite steppe by day, and of the infinite starry heaven by night, their souls were filled with a sense of the smallness and insufficiency of man, and of his need of something greater and wiser than himself, a conviction out of which grew three great religions: Buddhism, Judaism and Mahommedanism.

HUNTERS, like shepherds, are nomadic, but the contrast between the two is very striking. The nomads of the Amazon are savages, ignorant and ferocious. The family is hardly more stable than among the higher animals; religion is little more than a superstitious dread of what may be lurking in the dark depths of the forest, malignant and unkindly; and the precariousness of existence is equally unfavourable for material or moral progress.

IN both of the societies with a stable family type the race multiplies freely, in view of the assured abundance of means of subsistence. The surplus population is easily provided for. Large families are a source of strength and a matter for pride. The ideal of the shepherd is that his seed shall be as the sands of the sea in number. The Anglo-Saxon, if less eagerly prolific, at least believes that "God never sends a mouth but He sends meat to fill it". Here a homely proverb enshrines the experience of a race which has found that its environment guarantees regular and abundant means of subsistence. But in the precarious existence of the unstable hunting family overpopulation is a danger to be feared, and hence infanticide and cannibalism are resorted to. If the hunting ideal has been formulated, it is doubtless of the type of our own proverb—"The fewer, the better fare".

CHAPTER XII

SIMPLE AND COMPLEX SOCIETIES

FROM this survey of simple societies we return again to the monographs of typical working-class families of the modern world. The value of these, from Le Play's point

of view, was not the mass of information collected as to the condition of individual families, valuable though this might be, but the light thrown on the historical development and essential constitution of society. The laws which regulate the well-being of families are those which regulate the well-being of societies. The true constitution of a nation is not, as lawyers and innovators think, its code of laws, but its private life ; in other words its family organisation. It is this which gives its character to the public life of a nation. Nor can it be considered apart, without reference to the other factors in the history of a people. It is not something which has been arbitrarily imposed from without, by the will of kings or legislators. It is due to a process of organic growth, under the pressure of the geographical and other conditions which have influenced the race from all time. It is bound up with the whole intellectual, moral and social history of the race. It cannot be touched without affecting all of these. Hence the danger of attempts at social reform, especially when based on theoretical considerations instead of on a comparative study of the family in relation to the activities of life.

THE reformer, therefore, must bring to his task the spirit of the naturalist. He must realise that environment, occupation and social type are all bound up together, that every effect has a cause and every cause an effect. He must not expect to gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. His conception of social reform must be one of slow organic growth and not of rapid mechanical production.

IN all societies, simple or complex, there are two great groups of wants ; those concerned with the physical life and those concerned with the moral life. The first is the need of subsistence or, as Le Play calls it, with his fondness for biblical terms, for daily bread. Social stability is impossible where this need is not provided for. Hungry men are dangerous. To be prosperous a society must guarantee subsistence to all its members, and where this cannot be done the society as a whole is unstable. The second group of needs is connected with the preservation of law and order. There are tendencies in men which, if unchecked, would sacrifice the good of the community to the gratification of the individual ; these are strongest in youth, when the desires are very strong and the experience of life very small. No desire is so imperative, no passion so ungovernable as that of a child. It is only years that bring the philosophic mind, ripe wisdom and self-control. Moral restraint is necessary to defend society against the over individualistic impulses of the young and of those who remain morally at the level of children all their lives. Every nation has its code of morality, or decalogue, forbidding to kill, to lust, to lie, to steal, to bear false witness, for if these things are done society cannot hold together. However, therefore, we look at the moral law, whether like Le Play as a revelation from God to man, or as the formulated experience of the race, it is clear that no society can be stable which does not insist on its observance, especially in youth when self-control is

hardest and most necessary. In any stable society the family has a double function, to provide for the moral as well as for the physical needs of its members.

THE mode in which physical needs are supplied varies with the nature of the environment. Where the spontaneous productions of the earth are abundant little more is necessary than to kill and eat. Yet even here differences arise which have a profound bearing on social organisation. It is only the hunter, or occasionally the fisher, who has nothing to do but kill the first living thing that comes in his way. The man who depends on his flocks and herds must feed his flocks like a shepherd, must carry the lambs in his arms, and tenderly lead those that are with young, nay, must even on occasion be willing to lay down his life for his sheep. The fisher must launch out into the deep and let down his nets for a draught, a thing not to be done till the boat and net have been discovered. Though the land be fruitful enough to bring forth ten thousand fold yet must the sower go forth sowing and woe to him during the long weeks of growth if he has not in the preceding year gathered his wheat into the garner. Thus there is one sort of work to do where there are forests, another kind where there is grass and still another kind where there is sea, and each of these occupations evolves a certain group of virtues, and a certain social order. Of the types thus evolved, some to honour, some to dishonour grow, and for this too there is in each case a good reason.

THERE is, therefore, as will be seen, a certain relation between the physical and moral basis of society. Where existence is precarious morals are precarious too. Where as on the steppe, the means of subsistence are abundant and easily procured and there is little difficulty in earning the daily bread, the society is morally as well as economically stable. The father is much at home and is able to devote the greater part of his energies to the government of his family. He has borne the yoke himself in his youth, and has come to realise that it was good for him that he was so afflicted. In his turn he inculcates in his children respect for those rules of morality which experience has shown him to be necessary. Such a society as this is pre-eminently stable, providing adequately for both the physical and moral needs of its members. The two roads to ruin, precarious subsistence and moral corruptions are both securely barred.

BUT as society grows complex this happy state of things disappears. Population begins to outrun subsistence. Some societies resort to expedients for reducing the number of mouths to fill, such as infanticide and cannibalism. A society of a higher family type slowly undergoes an economic transformation. Shepherds' crooks are beaten into ploughshares, the bow is exchanged for the spade, and the earth is forced to yield not as much as it will but as much as it can. Man begins to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow and the problem is solved for the time. Sooner or later, however, not even the making to grow of two blades of grass where before

there grew but one, suffices for the need of the expanding society, and men must seek out the treasures hidden in the bowels of the generous earth. So it goes on. The forests are cut down to make room for fields of growing corn and these in their turn disappear. The forest reappears, but a forest of chimneys this time. The whirr of unresting wheels fills the air, the reek of chemical fumes poisons the farmers' crops, but ten men live well where one starved before and the country increases in wealth if not in well-being.

SUCH a society, fairly successful in its struggle for existence, is less so in providing for the moral needs of its members. The father is away at the shop, or at the mill or factory, or on one of the great express trains or cargo steamers, or tramping the country in search of work, or in town floating bubble companies, or engaged in some other productive or unproductive occupation. In any case he is probably overworked and his home tends to become a hotel where he can sleep and breakfast at a cheap rate. He is too busy to undertake the moral guidance of his family and his place is filled partly by the clergy who inculcate the practice of morality, and partly by the civil authorities, the policeman at close quarters and the sovereign in the distance, whose duty it is to prevent breaches of it. Thus the authority passes from the father who, in a pastoral society, is both priest and king in his own house to the clergy who maintain the *paix de Dieu*, and the sovereign who maintains the *paix du souverain*. The father's is a natural authority which carries its own sanction, the latter are artificial authorities based on reasons which are not self-evident. The atrophy of the father's authority weakens the habit of obedience. Not only those who wish to disobey but even those who are willing to obey begin to ask on what ground church and state demand obedience. It is not difficult for those who are ignorant of the organic basis of institutions to convince themselves and others that both church and state are artificial in character, which is true, and in origin, which is untrue, and that, therefore, they have no claim on obedience, which does not follow. Then come rebellions against principles which are sound though embodied, it may be, in corrupt shapes.

THIS was the case in France at the close of the eighteenth century. Starting, not from the observation of societies as they are, but from an imaginary description of society as it might have been, Rousseau had little difficulty in proving to his own satisfaction that as human nature in its natural state was wholly good, institutions tending to restrain it must be wholly bad. This theory, filtering downwards, found a crude but logical expression in the cry of the Paris mob, "*À bas le roi*", "*À bas les prêtres*". Liberty, equality and fraternity are still the watchwords of progress, and it is maintained by many of our advanced thinkers that authority, whether paternal or divine, is a bad thing. This being so Le Play pleaded for scientific testimony on the point. If observation of societies at different levels of prosperity

shows that respect for divine authority, as embodied in the moral law, and for human authority as embodied in parental authority, are invariably associated with material prosperity, such respect must be a useful thing, and if associated invariably with the absence of prosperity, a bad thing. The problem, he held, was not one for philosophical discussion in the style of Rousseau, but for actual observation in the style of Buffon. His contribution to the solution of the problem was published in 1864 under the title of *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*.

CHAPTER XIII SOCIAL REFORM

LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS was published in 1855 at a period of great national prosperity, due largely to the extension of railways and the growth of trade and industry. LE PLAY expected that at such time his studies of the working-classes of Europe would attract little attention, except among a few statisticians and economists. The interest in social questions had died down with the passing of the social crisis of 1848. To his surprise his book found a large number of readers among the general public, and many persons expressed their sympathy with the practical conclusions which he had somewhat cautiously indicated. It was evident that a thoughtful estimate of the existing social conditions of France would be received with attention, even though it might wound the national susceptibilities of some of its readers. Encouraged by the reception of his first book, Le Play, in 1864, published *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE* which may be regarded as the sequel to *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS*. It stated the practical conclusions of the writer, without recapitulating the evidence contained in the earlier volumes. Its subjects were Religion, Property, the Family, Labour, Association, the relations of employer and employed, Government and Social Reform in France. All these questions were discussed in the light of the comparative study of the working-classes of Europe.

ONE of the most remarkable points in connection with this, in many respects the most interesting of Le Play's works, was the date of its publication. The Second Empire was at its zenith, trade was flourishing, and there was a general sense of public security. There was as yet no indication of the disaster which seven years later was to humble the nation and ruin the dynasty on the field of Sedan. Le Play, almost alone, was distrustful of the stability of France, notwithstanding the prestige of her arms abroad, and her progress in the arts of peace at home. The church, he maintained, was worldly and indifferent; the aristocracy corrupt and pleasure-loving; officialism was invading private life; mischievous laws of succession were weakening the family; and the introduction of new industrial conditions was substituting class hatreds for the old solidarity of employer and employed. Under such conditions stability was impossible and disaster inevitable.

RELIGION

By education and sympathies Le Play was a devout Catholic,* but he had seen too much of varying types of society to desire or expect religious uniformity. Religion, in one form or other, he regarded as essential to the stability of society, and he deplored, on moral and social grounds, the increase of indifference and irreligion in contemporary society. The cause, he maintained, was that a formalism had displaced spiritual Christianity. The clergy had for centuries preferred worldly advancement to spiritual growth. At the Reformation they might have retained their ascendancy by reforming their lives. Instead of this they plunged the country into civil war, and triumphed outwardly at the cost of their true power. The church was discredited in the eyes of thinking men, and the way was paved for the reign of the philosophers, who assailed political and religious institutions with a merciless logic. The critical spirit, filtering downwards, laid aside its philosophic calm and identified itself with the turbulent passions of the mob. A saturnalia of destruction followed, in which good and evil perished together.

THE first step towards religious reform in France was, in Le Play's opinion, the re-awakening of the religious consciousness. Mere assertion of dogma was insufficient. Christianity must justify its existence by co-operating with the moral progress of society. If the clergy were to be the pioneers of social reform they must forego intolerance and worldly ambition, and prove themselves morally superior to the secular party. The danger to the faith was no longer from heresy and schism, but from indifference. In the presence of a danger threatening the very existence of religion, minor differences ceased to be significant. The only rivalry should be to have most of the spirit of Christ. Nothing would be gained by increasing the temporal power of the clergy. Let the church return to the traditions to which it owed its ancient strength, modifying its rules and discipline to meet the needs of the age. Let it be free to rich and poor alike, and seek no alms except from cheerful givers. Finally, let there be no wasteful expense or needless splendour of ritual.

PROPERTY

PROPERTY, like religion, is an institution which appears to be found wherever a society has been formed. Two distinctive types stand out; individual property and collective property. The latter is the more ancient, and numerous survivals of it are found, even in societies organised on the basis of individual property. The tendency of the modern world is in the other direction. It regards all forms of property as the result of industry and thrift, and therefore as private property.

* But compare J. B. M. Vignes' *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE D'APRÈS LES PRINCIPES DE LE PLAY* . . . Paris, 1897, pp. 101-102. " . . . nous savons qu'il (Le Play) est resté presque jusqu'à la fin de sa vie en dehors de l'Eglise : sa conversion ne précéda sa mort que de peu de temps.—A.F.

AMONG savages and morally defective persons in civilised societies there is a constant tendency to do as little work as possible and to consume the fruit of it immediately without thought for the future. For the preservation of society this improvident section of the community must be constrained to a certain measure of industry and self-restraint. In eastern Europe such constraint is chiefly exercised through the patriarchal authority already described. The soil, the dwelling, the flocks and herds belong to the community as a whole, community of blood being held to involve community of interest.

As such a society becomes agricultural the principle of common ownership is applied to the arable land. Among many Russian peasants this is periodically re-divided, the basis of allotment being the size of the family. The object is to secure equality without unduly discouraging industry and thrift. The system, however, has one radical defect. It deprives the most competent of the advantages of their superiority and substitutes an artificial equality for a natural and salutary inequality. The more capable, therefore, are likely to assist the germs of private ownership to develop. This has been the direction of change in most European countries. So long as perseverance, industry and thrift are almost universal the change is wholly for the better, but it proves fatal to the morally and physically inferior, who sink as fast as the more capable rise. Inequalities doubtless exist under any system, but among individualistic societies they are encouraged by the social institutions, and not, as among communistic societies, repressed by them.

THE western peoples of Europe have lived, at least since the middle ages, under the régime of private property, though many survivals of common ownership are to be found. As equality is the avowed aim and admitted result of collectivism, so the survival of the fittest is the aim and consequence of individualism. In a society organised on the basis of private property there is great need of some moral constraint on the property owning classes. The existence of a proletariat living on the brink of starvation is a sign that economic evolution has proceeded more rapidly than moral evolution. The remedy is, not reversion to the economic methods of a less evolved social type, but a moral reform affecting all classes.

AMONG the institutions which profoundly modify the nature of a society is the mode in which property is transmitted. Restrictions on freedom of bequest are, in reality, restrictions on the right of property. Freedom of bequest is one of the most valuable rights of owners of property among nations of the Anglo-Saxon stock. It is occasionally modified by custom, as in the entail of real property in the male line, but the State does not dictate in the matter except in cases of intestacy. In France, the State invades the domain of private life and insists that property shall be disposed of at the owner's death in a manner fixed by law.

THERE are three typical modes of succession. The testator may enjoy absolute freedom of bequest; or the state may compel him to leave his property intact to a single heir, or to divide it among several. These systems may be called testamentary freedom; compulsory conservation; and compulsory division.

So long as custom is a stronger force than law there will be a definite relation between the mode of succession and the actual needs of a society. All three methods of succession might co-exist in different sections of the same society. Sooner or later, however, the law usually steps in and proceeds to codify the laws of succession. This usually deprives them of elasticity and introduces a uniformity ill adapted to meet the varying needs of actual life. "The régimes of succession appropriate to different countries," writes Le Play, "will never properly be understood until lawyers of standing devote themselves to the task of observing for themselves the social condition of different peoples, and pursue this kind of study according to the method of the geologist and the naturalist."

WHERE the system of customary conservation is in force the family property passes intact to an heir indicated by law or custom. This heir is usually the eldest male in the family. Sometimes, as in the Basque provinces, the eldest child, male or female, succeeds. Occasionally the property reverts to a sister's issue, either as a survival of the matriarchate or, as Le Play suggests, to prevent the succession of possibly adulterous offspring. If we distinguish between succession to real and succession to personal property, usages differ widely.

COMPULSORY conservation is more often based on custom than on law. It represents the ideals of a society in which the family survives from generation to generation, as the great unity in which individuals are merged. The trend of modern legislation is in the opposite direction. Cases occur, however, where this mode of succession is prescribed by law, as in the case of Napoleon's *majorats*. It is sanctioned by custom in many parts of Europe, and not infrequently the feudal superior insists on it as a guarantee of his due. It was exceedingly common in the middle ages, and was among the causes which contributed to the social pre-eminence of France, Germany and England, where it was most extensively practised. Families grew strong and accumulated wealth, and could afford to multiply freely. In each generation they furnished sons to till the soil, to follow the profession of arms and to cultivate the liberal arts. It was thus that the foundation of the middle class was laid. At the same time the certainty that their work would be carried on by competent hands after their death encouraged the peasants and saved them from sinking into a proletariat.

COMPULSORY conservation is a mode of transmission suited only to the society of simple moral ideals, where parental authority and public opinion are sufficient safeguards

against idleness and extravagance. Its weakness is that it settles the succession irrespective of personal fitness and frequently hands property over to an unworthy heir. For this reason, and not because inheritance by a single heir was felt to be unjust, many societies have discontinued it. Others still retain it because it is conformable to their special needs.

COMPULSORY division provides for the division of the whole bulk of the property among a number of the heirs, in the choice of whom the transmitter has no voice. By the French law of 1793, the whole property was thus divided. This law was modified a few years later by the *Code Civil*, which exempted a certain proportion from the operation of the law. Under various forms compulsory division is enforced in France, Russia, Spain, Portugal, parts of Switzerland, Turkey and the Barbary States.

IN no country, perhaps, has this system of transmission produced such striking and, in many cases, deplorable results as in France. Some of these are discussed in the section dealing with the family. The history of the system of inheritance requires a brief notice.

UP to the end of the eighteenth century conservation was the customary mode of inheritance in most parts of France, and was practised by noble and peasant alike. So long as the nobility were resident on their estates and unaffected by the corruption of the court, the justice and expediency of this mode of succession was never questioned. At a later period the nobility began to live less on their estates and more in Paris. Their revenues were squandered on unworthy pleasures and the abuses latent in the system of inheritance became apparent. There was a growing feeling of resentment at the concentration of wealth in hands that misused it. This feeling was strongest in Paris, among the landless classes of the capital, who saw all the abuse and none of the advantages of the system. It was comparatively rare in provinces like Normandy, where the same mode of transmission was practised by the peasantry. There it was regarded, not as a class privilege, but as a natural and necessary expedient for safeguarding the interests of the property, and, consequently, of the family.

WHILE the peasantry undoubtedly suffered severely from the oppression of a nobility which had forgotten the old traditions of class solidarity and were only anxious to grasp the revenues which they hastened to squander in the capital, it was not the mode of transmission which was the object of provincial criticism and attack. The French Revolution was by no means wholly, or even chiefly, the uprising of a down-trodden peasantry against brutal lords. It was, to a large extent, an urban movement, shattering a society based on rural institutions. By the end of the eighteenth century these had become unsuitable to the needs of a large and very noisy section of the nation, whose ideas of justice and social institutions were

based on logical considerations rather than on actual experience of the concrete needs of the fundamental activities of life. While the city mob and the professional lawyers clamoured for change, the peasants and farmers were busy sowing and reaping and practising various trades and handicrafts on which the existence of society depends. The new order of things was manufactured for them in Paris, chiefly by lawyers, whose ideas of the origin of social institutions were based on the artificial political philosophy of Rousseau. The society with which they were actually concerned was one whose institutions had been slowly evolved, in the course of many centuries, from the differing needs of shepherds on the hills and plains, hunters in the forests, and fishers on the coasts. What the legal eye saw was a chaos of anomalies, abuses, privileges and belated prejudices. Looked at in this way, for all these things were there, feudal France was undoubtedly in need of reform.

In the course of a few months it was reformed by the creation of a brand new France, with an admirably logical constitution. The only oversight was that the Paris legislators had forgotten to consider what would be the result on practical life of their endeavours to introduce uniformity and realise absolute justice. On the face of things the division of property among all the children appears a much fairer system than transmission to a single child. Compulsory division was, therefore, enacted. In practice it has restricted the activities, crippled the enterprise, and reduced the expansive power of the nation as a whole. The law enacting compulsory division among all the legitimate children and abolishing freedom of bequest was passed on March 7th, 1793. It was essentially a lawyer's law, promoted by Robespierre, Danton and four other lawyers. It aroused great opposition in the provinces even among the friends of the new order. It was felt that it would mean ruin to the peasantry and the classes engaged in agriculture generally. Some of the provincial deputies tried to reopen the question at the end of the year, pointing out that the law, though levelled at great estates, would ruin the small ones also. The protest was unsuccessful, and ten years later the new mode of transmission received the sanction of the *Code Civil*. Napoleon had no illusions as to the tendency of this part of the Code to aggrandize the State at the expense of the family. "Establish the Code at Naples," he wrote to his brother Joseph, "and every element opposed to you will disappear in a few years. Through its agency all that is not loyal to you must inevitably fall, and no great families will remain except those you erect into fiefs. This consideration led me to preach the Civil Code and induced me to establish it."

TESTAMENTARY freedom, the system in force in England, permits a testator to dispose of much or all of his property without restriction. It leads to the development of prolific families of the stock type. It authorises a father to reward individual desert by leaving his property to the heir best qualified to administer it in the interests

of the family. Thus it acts incidentally, as far as any institution can, as a check upon the undisciplined instincts of youth.

It is hardly necessary to discuss in detail the influence on a society as a whole of the mode of transmission in force. If a man is free to bequeath his property as he pleases, his authority over his family is greatly strengthened. At the same time he has an incentive to devote himself to enterprises of a permanent character. If he can choose a successor not less capable than himself he sets himself to develop his property to the utmost. Naturally he is reluctant to bequeath the fruit of his labour to an heir who will make ducks and drakes of it, and thus freedom of bequest is an excellent safeguard against the accumulation of wealth in unworthy hands. Where the eldest son is well qualified—and he is more often well qualified under this system than under any other—he inherits the bulk of the property or at least such portion of it as could not prosper under divided management. The other children have their trades and professions, chosen with reference to their individual qualifications.

On the other hand, where a man has to divide his property at death among heirs chosen by the law irrespective of his will in the matter, work loses its continuity. With the approach of age a man is tempted to dispose of a business which will in any case be broken up in the course of a few years at his death. His children, meanwhile, watch him with hungry eyes, eager to divide the inheritance which is to come to them. The fewer the co-heirs, the larger the share of each. By limiting the number of children born, life is made easier both for father and children. These are not the lines along which nations grow strong and vigorous. France, Le Play thought, was perishing from over-caution, from saving instead of spending wisely, and from husbanding instead of employing resources.*

THE FAMILY

THE family, in one form or another, is a necessary institution, arising out of the helplessness of infancy and the comparative disablement of women by maternity. It has played the chief part in the moral education of the race. Under its influence sentiments have developed which have gradually acquired the strength of instincts, and which but for historical evidence might almost be regarded as such. A defence of the family at the present day would lay almost as much stress on the provision it

* LE PLAY calls attention to an interesting correspondence between these three modes of transmission and the three types of family already described. Compulsory conservation corresponds to the social and ethical ideals of a pastoral society and of the patriarchal family. Testamentary freedom corresponds to the ethical and social ideals of the stock family and of fishing societies. Compulsory division represents the ideals of a hunting society, where the family has become unstable through excessive individualism. The hunting code of Morality—weak family ties, lack of continuity of effort from generation to generation, and the limitation of population—are the results of this mode of transmission. He notices the interesting fact that the deputies who supported the law of 1793 came from those parts of France which had been originally forested and where society had consequently actually passed through the hunting stage.

makes for the satisfaction of these higher emotional needs as on its obvious social convenience. To justify the institution was no part of Le Play's purpose. He accepted it as fundamental and proceeded to estimate the value of its different types.

THE three fundamental types have already been described. The patriarchal family, the type characteristic of pastoral peoples, is exceedingly stable but unprogressive. The unstable family is found among a few races at the savage level, where the chase supplies a precarious existence. The stock family, at once conservative and progressive, prevails in western and central Europe, and develops to a very high degree the qualities which command success in life.

At the present time a social transformation is taking place in western Europe. This appears to be due to the conditions of modern industrial life, coupled in some cases with legislation detrimental to the family. The stock family is tending to pass, slowly in some societies, rapidly in others, into the unstable type.

THE causes of this change in the type of family were what Le Play set himself to discover. At the time he wrote, the question engaged public attention far less than at the present time. Now* it is rightly regarded by French sociologists as one of the most pressing problems of the day.

IN Le Play's view the chief cause of the disappearance of the old stable prolific French family was the introduction of the compulsory division of property in every generation. He pointed to England where freedom of bequest was allowed, as preserving the tradition of stability and fecundity. This, however, was thirty years ago and in the interval the same change is beginning there. The mode of inheritance cannot, therefore, be more than a contributing cause, though there is a general consensus of thoughtful French opinion that it tends to accelerate the other causes at work.

A THOUGHTFUL French writer and disciple of Le Play has recently pointed out the effect upon the family of the increasing despecialisation of modern industry. The personnel of industry is relatively unimportant. In a majority of cases one fairly intelligent man will do as well as another. The farmer cannot pursue his occupation in the town nor the fisher inland, but the industrial worker can tend a machine in one place as well as in another. He is being gradually forced to resume the nomadic life, under conditions which bring the unstable family in their train. Whether this is a temporary or a permanent form of industrialism it is impossible to say. In Great Britain, at any rate, the tradition of the stock family is still very strong, and there is no system of compulsory division in every generation to weaken it.

THE mode in which the change in the family type is manifesting itself is too familiar to need detailed description. The stock family of western Europe, whether in Great Britain or on the continent, formerly possessed a family homestead, the cradle

* i.e. about 1898; and not less so in 1950!—A.F.

of the family. This was inherited by the head of the family from his predecessor and handed on by him at his discretion to one of his sons. The occupation was transmitted in the same way. The head of the family was a yeoman, or a craftsman, or a fisherman as his father had been before him and as his successor would be after him. Assured of a home and a trade he could afford to marry early and bring up a large family. One of his sons—probably the eldest—would succeed him, the others would be assisted to make their way in the world and found new homes and families. If they failed there was the old home to come back to. The daughters either married or remained with their father or brother, helping the family in innumerable ways, tending the sick, nursing the children, sharing in the duties and responsibilities, forwarding its interests and finally enriching it with their savings. The servants were not merely hirelings but in a real sense members of the family. Even now* it is not uncommon to read of the death of some old servant "for many years the faithful friend and servant" of her master's family. What is now the exception was formerly the rule.

THE most pressing social questions of the day were therefore relatively unimportant. There was no housing problem, no woman question and no servant problem. Marriages, though contracted early, were not improvident, and families, though large, were a source of strength rather than of weakness. Each family possessed its homestead, furniture, implements and occupation. Unmarried women had a home at the family hearth, and had no incentive to marry unless from inclination. Custom forbade a man to think of marrying until he could offer his bride a home furnished in conformity with his rank in life. This meant a long apprenticeship of industry, self-control and thrift. Parents possessed of such qualities were not afraid to multiply freely. A triple authority made itself felt in the family; the gentle rule of the mother, the sterner but salutary authority of the father, and the force of a healthy public opinion among the children. Such families turned out self-reliant and capable men and women, for a large family is an excellent school of the stronger virtues.

TO-DAY* this must be frankly recognised as a rose-coloured picture. Among the working classes of our towns, an ever-increasing class, life has lost its old stability and become semi-nomadic. A man has to follow his trade from one industrial centre to another, and occasionally to change it altogether. He cannot afford to tie himself down to one place by buying or building a home. He rents one instead, and as rented houses are frequently badly built and inconvenient, he is often changing his dwelling. This destroys the continuity of family tradition and of public opinion generally, for each removal brings him among comparative strangers.

UNDER these changed social conditions two opposed types develop; the over-cautious and the reckless. The former realise that life is becoming increasingly precarious.

* See footnote on page 81—A.F.

They marry relatively late, and generally look for a little money with their wives. They wish to have few children and to secure them against the struggle for existence by providing them with a competency. To this type the greater part of the French nation and an increasing section of the British middle classes belong. Biologists condemn the introduction of mercenary considerations into marriage choice as bringing in an artificial principle of selection, and tending to produce a puny stock, especially where marriage is long deferred. Even the possession of a competency is a doubtful blessing. It is in the struggle for existence that the race has developed its thews and sinews, physical and moral.

THE second type errs in the opposite direction. Of the traditional customs of the family it retains only two ; early marriage and great fecundity. The girls are anxious for liberty and the status of married women and readily consent to marry homeless and penniless men. The young men, removed by their semi-nomadic life from the restraints of custom and public opinion, are little inclined for the self-restraint and hard work necessary to provide a home. Mere boys and girls, destitute of money and still more of intellectual and moral qualifications, rush into marriage without a home or any prospect of making one. They creep from one comfortless lodging to another. Swarms of children are born, but the mortality amongst the infants of ignorant and immature parents is appallingly high. The home becomes little more than a shelter for the night. The street is the real home of the children and the public-house that of the men. This reckless, almost animal type, appears at one end of the scale, while the respectable artisans and the middle and professional classes are falling into the opposite extreme of over-caution. With the disorganisation wrought by city life comes antagonism between parent and child and between master and servant. Child and servant cry out for liberty while parents and masters too often expect in vain an orderliness and self-restraint unknown under the changed conditions of family life.

AMONG the causes suggested by Le Play for this degeneration in the home and family life is the change in the position of women. Within the last few decades this has been considerably affected by legislation. Law has bestowed on them many new rights without really bettering their position, while the decay of custom has deprived them of many really valuable privileges. As a typical example he selects the fact that for the last century women in France have had a legal right to share in their father's inheritance. This appears to satisfy the claims of abstract justice, but it does not work out well in concrete cases. Instead of her old right to a place at the family hearth the sister receives her *légitime* and her brother has no longer any responsibility for providing her with a home. The *légitime* is in many cases quite inadequate and for one unmarried woman of sufficient fortune there are a hundred indigent spinsters keeping up appearances on a pittance. The brother,

meanwhile, is the poorer for what his sister has received, and looks to his marriage to recoup him. He cannot afford to marry a penniless girl, however beautiful, intelligent or worthy. Thus the sickly, the unattractive, the ill-tempered, the vicious, those whom natural selection would leave to celibacy, find husbands if their dowry is large enough to atone for their deficiencies. For the same reason it is easy for physically and morally inferior men to find wives. Girls find themselves at their father's death with a little money and without a home. Unless possessed of a competency or of exceptional abilities they are almost forced to take any husband they can get for the sake of a home. Thus mercenary considerations lead to the perpetuation of the race by those who are physically and morally unfit to have offspring.

AFTER marriage a new problem presents itself. Each child is a creditor whose claims will have to be satisfied. A sincere, if short-sighted affection prompts parents to limit their family to two or three children, that it may be in their power to provide well for all. This relieves the father but it affects the mother undesirably. Artificial sterility is a pathological condition which, in the opinion of many gynaecologists, brings serious evils in its train. At the same time freedom from family cares leaves women too much leisure and denies them proper vent for their emotional capacities. Not only do nervous diseases increase but the standard of womanly dignity and usefulness tends to fail. The society woman and the professional beauty set an example of extravagance and display which is only too readily copied in the lower ranks of life. Liberty and enjoyment replace simple and useful lives. Women rebel against the inequalities of nature and resent the pains and sacrifices of maternity. In the end the "new woman" is evolved, who claims privileges without responsibilities, and desires strength without service.

THE stock family has never been favourable to inheritance by women, though it has laid down no hard and fast rule in the matter and has allowed women to inherit wherever this course best served the interests of the family. Instead of a share in the inheritance it offered a share in the ancestral home, giving an unmarried woman a hearth and claims on her affectionate sympathies. If she remained unmarried her brother's children became to her as her own. Familiar speech recognises a maiden aunt as a sort of fairy godmother, proving that the system worked well. Where a woman was not forced to marry for a home, marriages were naturally contracted on a basis of mutual liking and esteem. In the absence of a dowry, women were sought for honourable and desirable qualities, such as a man would wish to see reproduced in his children. This implies facilities for mutual knowledge, based on free intercourse between unmarried men and women.

HERE arises a difficult and painful problem. Such freedom of intercourse is only possible or desirable in societies where seduction is strongly condemned either by law or public opinion. This is the case in healthy societies which have not been

corrupted by the morbid conditions of city life. The seducer is expected to complete the marriage or to make reparation. In many country districts a man who refused to marry the girl he had seduced would find life intolerable. If healthy public opinion is not strong enough to enforce this, the law provides that where the paternity of an illegitimate child is reasonably established the father can be compelled to contribute to its support. In old France custom took the same view and seduction followed by desertion was rare outside the cities. At the Revolution the jurists unfortunately considered seduction as they had done inheritance from the point of view of abstract justice. They decided that what was commonly called seduction was the act of two consenting parties and not an injury done by the man to the woman. The maxim "*La recherche de la paternité est interdite*" was confirmed by the *Code Civil*, and the father of an illegitimate child incurs no responsibility. Seduction therefore is increasingly common especially where the two sexes are employed together. This is not necessarily a proof of greater moral depravity. It is rather the outcome of a different set of social conditions which militate against freedom of marriage choice, and consequently against the habitual association of unmarried persons of different sexes.

WHERE the traditions of the stock family have been preserved and marriages are based on mutual affection, the home and its affections become the chief solace of the father's leisure. The mothers are busy and happy, respected and trusted by their husbands and looked up to by their children. The sacrifices involved in rearing a large family restrain extravagance and keep the race hardy. As a whole it is generally remarkable for beauty and strength and is usually successful in the struggle for existence.

HIGH, therefore, as is Le Play's ideal of the social dignity of womanhood he is in many respects at variance with modern views on the subject. While desiring to see women receive an education broad and thorough, he disapproved of their being compelled to earn a living by it. He was reluctant to use fine instruments for rough work and would have women leave to men whatever men can do as well, in order to devote themselves to their unique mission of moralising society through its domestic affections. Indirectly in the case of their suitors, directly in the case of their sons, men are what women choose to make of them. So long as women are content to marry idle, unthrifty, drunken or vicious men, a large number of men will not take the trouble to be anything better. It rests with women to decide what standard of physical and moral qualifications shall qualify for marriage and fatherhood. What individual homes are society as a whole is, and thus the moral reform of society is almost wholly in the hands of women.

THE comparison of stable and unstable families suggests certain directions of reform. The first essential is the revival of the excellent custom which gave every

family a homestead which was handed on from father to son. The action of land and building societies are efforts in the right direction, and have enabled certain sections of the working classes to acquire homes of their own. In view of the increasing despecialisation of industry, which is proceeding with increasing rapidity, it may be doubted whether a return to this custom is possible at the present time.

THE second reform is the abrogation of all legislation tending to strengthen the state at the expense of the family. Here Le Play is referring chiefly to the French system of inheritance. Individual property and freedom of bequest are the necessary complements of paternal authority in western Europe. Society expects a man to support his family and holds him responsible for its proper moral training. His privileges must equal his responsibilities. The lawless instincts of youth must be repressed either by the father, armed with the right to disinherit if necessary, or by the law. Hence, paradox though it appears, the absolute authority of the father is one of the strongest safeguards of civil and political liberty. France, where the father's authority is undermined by a compulsory system of inheritance, is overrun by officialism. England, where freedom of bequest prevails, is little troubled by state interference with individual freedom.

THE third reform is that women and men should not be treated as if they were on the same footing. Where women are instituted as co-heirs they are marked out as prizes for fortune hunters, and unhappy marriages and badly organised homes result. Seduction should be branded with infamy, not merely as an offence which exposes women to the most cruel of deceptions, but as a crime which injures the highest interests of society by bringing into existence homeless and fatherless children. Le Play also deprecates divorce, as undermining the position of women while apparently benefiting them. The indissolubility of marriage is one of its safeguards. Individual cases of hardship are preferable to a remedy which would almost invariably lead to hasty and ill considered marriages, by which women and children would in the end be the chief sufferers.*

LABOUR

As a race becomes sedentary it begins to adapt to its needs the soil, plants and animals of its environment, and such natural agencies as wind and water. Agriculture,

* WITH this and the preceding section it is interesting to compare a passage from M. Zola's painful but profoundly earnest *FÉCONDITÉ*. "Mais Beauchêne, triomphant, se faisait d'esprit très large, reconnaissait la marche inquiétante de la dépopulation, dénonçait les causes, l'alcoolisme, le militarisme, la mortalité des nouveau-nés, d'autres encore fort nombreuses. Puis, il indiquait les remèdes, des réductions des impôts, des moyens fiscaux auxquels il ne croyait guère, la liberté testamentaire plus efficace, la révision de la loi sur le mariage sans oublier la recherche de la paternité."

Boutan finit par l'interrompre :

"Toutes les mesures ne feront rien. Ce sont les mœurs qu'il s'agit de changer, et l'idée de la morale."

forestry, mining, manufactures, commerce, colonisation and the liberal arts develop. The land is forced to support a growing population and not only do more people manage to live, but they live better. A stream of water, set to turn a mill, produces greater well-being to a large community than would accrue to a single savage from the whole resources of a considerable forest area.

IN intellectual progress labour has led the way. Every science has its basis in one or other of the concrete needs of life. The influence of labour extends beyond material amelioration, and intellectual discipline, and becomes one of the educative moral forces. The obligation to work restrains the natural tendency to idleness and sensuality, trains and disciplines the will, and develops a type of strong, vigorous and energetic manhood. The truly civilised man is master, not merely of his environment, but also of himself.

THUS in the course of ages men have come to see that the curse of Adam was but a blessing in disguise. Experience teaches that it is hard for a rich man, not only to enter into the kingdom of heaven, but to become an ordinarily well-qualified man in this world. His helplessness is fostered by troops of servants and parasites. There is no sharp spur of necessity to teach him the knack of hand and eye, the power of judging at a glance, the habit of endurance under privation or fatigue, of prompt action, renewed again in the face of discouragement and failure. The most valuable part of his training is got through a form of hard labour, voluntarily undertaken, to which he gives the name of sport. The cricket ground and the golf course, the hunting field and the deer forest, harden his muscles, steady his nerves and sharpen his senses. But for their discipline he would be heavily handicapped in the struggle for existence. What is true of individuals is true of nations. Those with the greatest natural advantages have not proved winners in the race. The degeneration of the Spanish race in the tropics is one of the tragedies of history.

AMONG civilised peoples labour falls under two heads, the handicrafts or useful arts, and the learned professions. The latter are supposed to afford a fuller intellectual culture than the handicrafts, but they leave a large part of the man undeveloped. The popular conception of the scholar as a bookworm, ignorant of the simplest affairs of practical life, or of the Girton girl nursing her baby upside down, ludicrous and untrue in themselves, have in them this much of truth, that the qualities by which a man succeeds in a learned profession are not always those which would ensure success in practical life. The handicrafts, however, do not deserve the contempt with which they are dismissed, as affording no intellectual training. While the schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century were teaching erroneous theories of the nature of substances, practical metallurgists had from time immemorial practised chemical methods which demonstrated their falsity. The school of practice is the oldest in the world. Le Play remarks that those who assume that the

working-classes as a whole are at a low intellectual level would soon change that opinion if brought into close contact with them in any part of Europe.

LE PLAY proceeds to consider the various occupations classified in chapter XI as forces making for the moral progress of a society, or for its decadence. Agriculture ranks first among the occupations which tend to material and moral advancement. It unites families to the soil by bonds of kindly interest. Local ties cluster indissolubly about it, knitting men to each other, as well as to home and country. By keeping a man in the healthy atmosphere of country life it builds up his physical strength, and removes him from the corruptions of a crowded city. The unceasing activity which it demands season by season furnishes a healthy outlet for his surplus energy and preserves him from the twin curses of idleness and debauchery. The interests of agriculture are therefore intimately connected with the best interests of the nation. For this reason the agricultural class is well fitted for the functions of political life, with which it is in most countries entrusted. This is illustrated by the political power of the House of Lords in Great Britain. From Le Play's point of view the agitation for its abolition came from a society which is forsaking agriculture for manufactures and commerce, and is overlooking the importance of agriculture as a moral and social force.

THE causes of the decadence of agriculture are partly industrial and partly moral. The energies of western Europe are increasingly devoted to industry and commerce which offer a quicker and larger return for the capital invested. The agriculturist must sow, but he does not always reap. His hopes are often deferred, and the fruits of his sacrifices are enjoyed by others. The industrial revolution has fostered an excessive individualism, little inclined for altruism of this kind. At the same time it has infected all classes with a love of luxury and enjoyment. More complex wants have been evolved, which can only be satisfied in cities. Rural occupations are felt to be monotonous and dull. The ideal of the country boy or girl is to get work in town and thus the city maintains its vitality at the expense of the country. The regeneration of agriculture would bring back, not merely the material blessings of corn and wine and oil, but the more excellent gifts of stable and well-ordered homes.

AGRICULTURE, like all other occupations, may be carried on either on a large scale or a small scale. The social functions of the two are, however, very different. The peasant or yeoman can cultivate his holding himself and this is his first duty. The owner of a great estate cannot do this, and is compelled to entrust much of the actual task of cultivation to his tenants. His first duty is to reside on his estate. His local function is to contribute as much as possible to the moral and intellectual progress of his tenantry by the exercise of a kindly and intelligent authority and patronage. The influence of a resident landholder of enlightened ideals is wide and

deep. It results in the material advancement of a district as well as its moral improvement. Collateral industries spring up, improved agricultural methods and machinery are introduced and wise efforts are made to develop the natural resources, as for example by the improvement of stock and horse breeding. The resident landowner is thus the pioneer of well directed technical effort. His house is the centre of much that is best in the intellectual and social life of a countryside. His guests keep in touch with the world outside, his servants are drawn from the homes of his poorer tenants all of whom have access to him under suitable conditions. Often the great house has its picture gallery or its library, which, with certain necessary restrictions, is put at the disposal of the neighbourhood. Another element of culture is supplied by the fact that the history of the family has been linked with that of its country. The tombs of noble and knightly ancestors stimulate the imagination, not merely of the family descended from them, but of its dependents as well.

RIGHTLY viewed, a life of such complex social service should be neither monotonous nor dull. The effect on squire and tenant is equally beneficent, and a sense of mutual obligation binds the two together. It is repugnant to the rural conscience to turn off an old tenant or servant, or to seek a new master, merely for pecuniary gain. Equity and custom are stronger forces than law, and the evils which follow from the wage system are comparatively unknown.

THE evils of absenteeism are correspondingly great. The absentee landlord brings up his family in the town under inferior physical and moral conditions and without the strong local patriotism which desires the best interest of the neighbourhood. He contributes nothing to the progress of agriculture, and he is alien to the sentiments and interests of those who are attached to his fortunes. In this lies the germ of the class misunderstanding which is one of the most significant and deplorable features of industrialism.

THE revival of agriculture is largely a moral reform. Landowners must begin the movement back from the town to the land. They must forego the distractions of city life and be willing to live simply among their own people. This would make their political influence of real value to a community. Familiar from actual experience with rural needs, they would succeed where legislation inspired by urban ideals inevitably fails. In this way the depopulation of the rural districts might be checked and a strong barrier raised against the spread of city ideals, with their corresponding instability of home and family.

THE same considerations apply with considerable force to the industries connected with forestry and mining. These, like agriculture, are local occupations which can only be carried on where the raw material is present. Healthy and permanent local interests tend to be created, and a stable type of family prevails unless the relation

between employer and employed is wholly pecuniary in its character. If the former feels at liberty to enter into temporary engagements, taking on and turning off men at pleasure, the stable family is, of course, doomed. This is too often the case, especially when a forest or mine is exploited in the interests of an impersonal joint-stock company. Inasmuch, however, as there is nothing in the nature of the occupations themselves to destroy a stable family type their influence on society makes on the whole for good.

MANUFACTURING industries are numerous and varied. They work up the raw materials produced by those engaged in the preceding occupations. They are not, like these, linked to a special locality and its resident population, but are carried on in great manufacturing centres. A factory can be set up in one place as easily as in another, and can be moved from one district to another if such a step is desirable. This leads more easily to the abolition of *patronage*.*

WITHIN the present century the rapid growth of industry has led to the accumulation of large fortunes, and the creation of what is commonly called the capitalist class. The social status of this class, notwithstanding its wealth, is markedly lower than that of the landed aristocracy. This Le Play attributes in great part to the morally inferior nature of the occupation. Success depends on the competition between different manufacturers. Business is conducted on business principles. The financial aspect of every transaction is kept in view, and this constant preoccupation with questions of profit and loss tends to develop self-interest at the expense of higher motives. Hence there is a sub-conscious feeling that a successful manufacturer may have owed his success to somewhat unscrupulous means, and he is viewed somewhat askance by the old families with their traditional code of honour. On the other hand manufactures, if rightly organised, render many valuable services to the community. The personnel of industry reaches a high degree of intellectual development. The opening of a mill or factory fills the schools of a district. It provides openings for men of average abilities, and careers of wide usefulness for the exceptional few. The danger to be feared is the substitution of the cash basis for *patronage*. When this is the case men are taken on for a temporary job, and turned adrift when it is completed. Their master feels no interest in them; they come he knows not whence to go he knows not whither. To use once more the familiar metaphor, a nomadic hunting society grows up under a new form. Employment is the quarry and the world the forest. With the wandering habits of this life return its ideals, the casual home, the unstable family, the absence of foresight and moral responsibility, and general ethical degeneration.

* A term for which there is unfortunately no equivalent in our language. [By this term Le Play signified the older system of employment in which the relations of employer and worker are defined by custom and are normally permanent throughout life, such relations including social contacts and co-operation, outside, as well as inside, the workplace.—A.F.]

NEXT on the list of occupations comes trade, by which is meant all the operations of distribution, including transport. The relation between employer and locality is reduced to a minimum. A business man in London or New York may invest thousands of pounds in goods manufactured in India or Japan. In this vast transaction he comes into personal contact only with a small staff of clerks. The thousands of families ultimately affected by his operations have no concrete existence for him. That they actually live, prosper or suffer on the other side of the world does not enter into the problem. Trade is concerned with supply and demand and with nothing else. It is not even national. The trader is quick to profit by the reverses of his country, and to prefer his own interests where they conflict with those of the nation. His country is the world, and sentimental considerations of patriotism are too costly to be entertained.

WHEN the article which the trader buys and sells is money or securities he is called a financier. The demoralisation of trade reaches its climax in the speculative finance of the present day, in which every concrete element in the problem is eliminated. The financier has taken no part in the creation of the wealth in which he traffics. The fact that his operations affect innumerable homes is disguised behind columns of figures, with the balancing of which the financier is alone concerned. Hence there is a good reason for the almost panic dread of the political ascendancy of the financier, which finds expression among other ways in periodical outbursts of anti-semitic frenzy.

THE conditions of trade are considerably modified in the case of the small trader who is brought into personal relation at least with the consumer. Here, too, though less rapidly, *patronage* is disappearing. The apprentice or assistant formerly ate at his master's table and slept under his roof. To all intents and purposes he was a member of his family and naturally ended by marrying his master's daughter. With the overcrowding of towns and the increase of rents this has now become too expensive. Out-door assistants are employed, for whom the master feels no moral responsibility. After hours the young persons of both sexes are free to spend their leisure as they please and are left to resist as best they can the temptations which the city offers.

THE liberal professions, classified in the same way, may be arranged in some such order as the following. The military profession comes first. The solidarity which unites officers and men is *patronage* carried to its extreme limit. The officer is forced to provide for the physical, intellectual and moral needs of his men or they will fail him at the critical moment. The exigencies of the soldier's life, except under the artificial conditions of barrack and garrison routine, inure him to privation and fatigue and compel him to be sober and temperate. Next come the occupations of teachers, men of science and letters, artists, lawyers, doctors, judges, magistrates,

ministers of religion, and finally statesmen, administrators and functionaries. This classification requires modification if the liberal professions are arranged according to their fitness for reforming a decadent society by the formation of stable families. This is not possible in the case of the soldier, though it might be, if a rational organisation of the army dispensed him from barrack or garrison life in time of peace and dismissed him to the country to engage in rural occupations and found a family. Nothing is more opposed to the moral welfare of society than a standing army compelled either to remain celibate or to found unstable families among the pernicious influences of garrison life. Le Play appears to have in view a system resembling that of our auxiliary and volunteer forces, coming up at certain times for training. When called to the front the soldier would leave his wife and children in the homestead under the protection of the other members of the family, to return at the end of the campaign with new knowledge and experience, which would ultimately advance the fortunes of the family. For ten centuries Europe prospered under such an organisation. That period saw steady progress in agriculture as well as in the other arts of life. The influence of the Crusades on the development of Europe is one of the commonplaces of history.

AN intimate connection between the profession and the family is rarely found among doctors and lawyers. Teachers and ministers are still less likely to transmit their profession, and men of science and letters as well as artists for the most part form unstable families without any strong local ties and responsibilities. The functions of administration are exempt from this defect when they are discharged by the landholding class from a sentiment of public duty. Where they become a trade, officialism and corruption inevitably result. The worst corruption of all ensues when teachers and priests form a hereditary caste.

ASSOCIATION

LE PLAY distinguishes two kinds of association; those whose members practise in common any form of industry for their joint gain, and those which endeavour to forward some moral or intellectual ideal. The first he calls communities; the second corporations.

THE first group includes all communal survivals and all modern experiments in the same direction. The survivals present great diversity. Some apply the principle of communism, not only to the possession of the instruments of production and the purchase of the raw materials, but also to the details of manufacture and the sale of the commodities produced. These, however, are exceedingly rare. The majority are rather transitional stages between communism and individualism.

THE only true communities in Europe are those concerned with the exploitation of some source of natural wealth. In the west they have disappeared before the private

ownership of the soil. Survivals are found chiefly among fishing communities, where the nature of the fishing grounds makes appropriation difficult. Occasional survivals are found all over Europe, in municipal tradition and in occupations which require only muscular strength. An example of the latter class is the *Artels*, or associations of unskilled labourers in some parts of Russia. The creameries of the French and Swiss Jura are semi-communistic. The instruments of production are held in common, and the staff is paid out of a common fund. The staff, however, are not partners, a proof that the organisation is not really communistic. These creameries are employed in making large Gruyère cheeses, which require the milk of about thirty cows apiece. Few owners keep so large a herd. The cow-keepers of a particular district combine to build premises large enough to produce a cheese a day. At the end of the year they divide the surplus that remains after paying working expenses. The fact that the system is never found in connection with the making of small cheeses shows that the communistic organisation is an accident connected with the size of the cheese. Other examples of semi-communism are the pasturing of flocks and herds on common pasture, as in the Ural and many other parts of Europe; the periodical re-division of land among agricultural communities; and the communities of Swedish, Westphalian and other metal workers.

EXPERIMENTS in the same direction were officially made in France after the fall of the Orleanist monarchy in 1848. 3,000,000 francs were voted for the establishment of enterprises owning the instruments of production in common and dividing the profits. A committee was formed to allot the funds, but out of 356 applications only 56 were granted, and of these, 30 were in Paris. Ten years after, 47 out of 56 had failed, and five years later only 6 remained. No better success has attended communistic principles applied to domestic life.

JOINT-STOCK companies present many points of resemblance with the Jura creameries. They are communistic only so far as concerns the creation of the working capital. The relations between employer and employed are unaffected by the substitution of a body of capitalists, large or small, for a single one. The principle of limited liability has certainly not intensified the sentiment of commercial honour. Nevertheless it is in this direction that the modern organisation of industry is tending, and almost every month witnesses the transformation of some private concern into a limited company. It is a convenient mode of raising a larger working capital than a single individual can command, and it gratifies the passion for speculation among small investors. Its defects are division of responsibility, the multiplication of the staff, and the risk of misplaced confidence. The joint-stock principle works better than private management only where a vast capital is essential to success. A man who is working a large business for his own profit or loss is in every way preferable to the representative of an impersonal company. The relations between

employers and men are as a rule more personal, the working expenses are generally less and there is less economic friction. From this point of view private management is more economical than the joint-stock principle.

COMMUNISTIC enterprises among the workers themselves are generally failures. Any special excellence on the part of an individual benefits that individual only in an infinitesimal extent, while the sacrifices which his superior industry and talent may involve fall on him alone. Men do not work so well under these conditions as when they profit exclusively. The old spirit of solidarity has undoubtedly given place to a stronger sense of self-interest, and the conditions under which the ancient communities prospered no longer exist.

EXPERIMENTS like those of 1848, Le Play remarks, serve one good purpose. A large section of the working classes of western Europe believe in socialism as a panacea for social difficulties. Their friends might do worse than convince them by actual experiment that their theories are impracticable in the present state of human nature and that they would only make the idle and incompetent parasites on the deserving and industrious.

SOCIETIES, or corporations as Le Play calls them, include charitable associations such as hospitals, temperance societies, land and building societies, friendly and other benefit societies, trade associations and guilds, literary and scientific societies and religious brotherhoods. Most of these are phenomena of social disease and point to the growing inefficiency of the family and the disappearance of *patronage*. Many of them do valuable work in alleviating distress and promoting worthy objects, but in a healthy society there would be little scope for their efforts. In so far as they tend to render vice, improvidence and other evils chronic, their influence is mischievous. Voluntary effort is, however, useful when devoted to the teaching of the higher branches of art, science and letters. This brings up the question of education, which is discussed in the following section.

EDUCATION

THE term education is unfortunately ambiguous, and is used to denote two entirely different things ; primary instruction, which has never been universal, and education proper, which begins at birth and goes on through life. The looseness of the term often leads to a confusion of thought and it is argued that free and compulsory instruction will lead to the creation of a superior type of men and women.

THE object of organised instruction is to impart such knowledge as can be more rapidly acquired from a teacher than from experience. Experience, however, invades the province of instruction at every point. The mother tongue, for example, with the national ideas, ideals, interests and sentiments bound up with it, is acquired unconsciously in the home. All that the school generally teaches of it is the dry

bones of it, the grammar, parsing and what not, which are not really educational at all. The spirit which informs it is learned elsewhere.

THE neglect of this consideration is largely responsible for the exaggerated importance attached to educational codes and school programmes. There is a growing desire to prolong the duration of school life, and to widen the area of instruction. There are, however, many difficulties in the way. The first is the passive but effective resistance offered by children, who submit with exceedingly bad grace to the introduction of disagreeable work for which there is no warrant in their traditions. On the other hand they delight to do something real. They want to be men and go to work. It is folly to prolong the school days at the expense of the congenial years of apprenticeship. It is to the interest of the boy, of his parents and of society as a whole to seize the earliest opportunity of transforming the idle, reluctant schoolboy into the willing and interested apprentice.*

To be valuable, primary instruction and school life must be, not something artificial and apart from the child's real world and interests, but a part of these. In many parts of the country districts of Scandinavia, Scotland, Germany and Switzerland admirable methods of instruction are pursued. The inhabitants are a simple God-fearing folk who desire education chiefly to be able to read their Bibles. To be ignorant is not to be respectable.

A FEW words are devoted to technical and professional education. Le Play was a believer in the old proverb, "*A force de forger on devient forgeron*". He would begin with practice not theory. A youth who goes straight to the workshop is thrown immediately in the company of men who are masters of their trade. His practical difficulties suggest the lines along which his instruction should be carried on. He applies his knowledge as fast as he acquires it, and is taught nothing till he has some actual use for it. He gets a real insight, not merely into technical processes, but into commercial and social conditions so far as they affect his trade. The youth who goes straight from school to a professional school is less fortunate. His instruction tends to be too theoretical. Principles are taught before their application and the inexperience of the pupil prevents him from having any criterion of truth, utility or relative importance. He is encouraged to accept certificates as

* A WELL-KNOWN passage in *THE MILL ON THE FLOSS* exactly confirms Le Play's contention.

"He very soon set down poor Tom as a very stupid lad; for though by hard labour he could get particular declensions into his brain, anything so abstract as the relation between cases and terminations could by no means get such a lodgment there as to enable him to recognise a chance genitive or dative. . . . 'You feel no interest in what you're doing, sir,' Mr. Stelling would say, and the reproach was painfully true. Tom had never found any difficulty in discerning a pointer from a setter, when once he had been told the distinction, and his perceptive powers were not at all deficient. . . . He could predict with accuracy what number of horses were cantering behind him, he could throw a stone right into the centre of a particular ripple, he could guess to a fraction how many lengths of his stick it would take to reach across the playground, and could draw almost perfect squares on his slate without any measurement."

proofs of real competence. When he passes out he is either behind those who have had a practical training, or he adopts some other profession. This is the history of many men whose names figure on boards and prospectuses. Technical education should follow and not precede apprenticeship. A year or two's delay often means that a lad begins his apprenticeship too late to develop the necessary knack of hand and eye. On the other hand the education of the skilled workman opens a wide field. Le Play was writing before the days of University Extension, but he seems to have had something of the kind in view, and would undoubtedly have regarded that movement with sympathy and interest.

THE education of girls, like that of boys, should be through practical life for practical life. The girl should be a little woman, beginning early to aid her mother in the daily work, the direction of the servants, the care of the younger children and the nursing of the sick. An education based on the complex activities of womanhood would be broader and more complete than any drill of the memory or one-sided culture of the reasoning powers. A woman educated in all the departments of womanly usefulness would be in the first place both physician and nurse ; enough of a naturalist to care for the domestic animals in sickness and health ; enough of a botanist to know the properties of herbs and simples ; an adept in the branch of practical chemistry known as cooking ; needlewoman, mechanic, teacher and financier. She would know the lore and legend of the countryside, and would make it the basis of her historical studies ; she would be skilled in music, at least to the extent of singing ballad or lullaby to her children ; a theologian competent at least to explain the difficulties of a puzzled child. There is, in short, no subject of which women can afford to be ignorant, and Le Play is no advocate for narrowing their education. Rather he would have it as wide and comprehensive as the functions they fulfil, that is to say commensurate with all the needs of life. Only he would base it on activities, on which it would grow till it extends in widening circles to cover the whole area of human emotion and thought.

GOVERNMENT

THE expansion of the area of government is not a sign of social stability, but the reverse. In an ideal society each family would be capable of providing for all the needs of its members. Either singly or in combination with similar family groups it would conciliate the various interests involved without recourse to external authority and without breach of social harmony. At the present time it is only the pastoral peoples of the steppe who approximate in any degree to this ideal. As a sedentary society grows complex the area of civil authority widens and the area of private initiative contracts. The conditions to which the customary law was appropriate gradually change, and difficulties of an unforeseen kind arise. The legislator attempts to deal with the problem on its own merits, without relation to all the

other social conditions with which it is bound up. The area of statute law widens, that of custom shrinks and the two may even come into sharp collision. The presumption is in most cases in favour of custom, which has grown up from actual experience, often centuries old, of what was fair and equitable under given circumstances. It is elastic, taking into account local needs and conditions. Law is based on a uniformity of social conditions which exists nowhere but on paper. The problem in question is studied, so to speak, *in vacuo*. The strength of custom is its diversity, its elasticity, and its comprehension of social conditions as a whole. Even within a small area custom may differ widely. The explanation is that owing to the different occupations and organisations of different groups, different exigencies arose and were differently met. Being unwritten, custom lends itself to intelligent modification to meet the special circumstances of each case, in harmony, of course, with its general spirit. It may be of time-honoured antiquity, it may be the modern outcome of modern conditions. The essence of custom is not antiquity, but its relation to concrete facts and actual needs.

THE problem of government is therefore twofold : how to reduce its own functions to a minimum, and how to render such legislative interference as is unavoidable organic instead of mechanical. To the attainment of these ends there is no royal road. Government must become applied social science. Before rushing into legislation a study should be made, according to some scientific and uniform plan, of all areas, great or small, where such problems have either been solved or avoided. It may be said that this is already done. It is true, no doubt, that departments enter into correspondence, and that every available source of official information is utilised. Unfortunately this is not quite enough. What is needed is not views of the question as it presents itself to the official mind, but as it comes into the daily life of those immediately affected. The observation of even a single family is of more real worth than a blue, or yellow, or white book crammed with statistics and tables. The one shows a concrete reality, the other deals mainly in abstractions.

In the same way the merits of different systems of governments can be judged, not by intercourse with its officials and the observation of its machinery, but by close contact with all classes of its population, and more especially its working classes. It was thus that Le Play had acquainted himself with the government of every country in Europe, proceeding from its practice to its theory, from its influence on the daily life to its political methods.

Of the various European forms of government Le Play thought most highly of our own, as offering the best solution of the two problems already referred to. In the course of nearly half a century he had visited Britain frequently and resided

in it for months at a time. He came originally not in search of political science, but in connection with the practice of the mining industries. His enquiries brought him into relation with the sections of the population employed in these industries, and forced upon his notice the social conditions associated with industry. These enquiries again led him to a wider field, and eventually opened up the whole question of political and social organisation. At every stage the problem was a concrete one. His position was entirely unlike that of the ordinary intelligent foreigner, "who wants to know". Usually he has nothing round which to group his new information except his preconceived ideas, and we can tell him nothing which will not mislead him. Le Play, of course, enjoyed facilities not within the reach of many. Where he wished for information there were no closed doors. Not merely was he one of the greatest living authorities in his own profession, but he was known at all the courts of Europe and was the recipient of stars and orders too numerous to mention. Ministers and officials vied with each other in rendering themselves useful to the great man, who often knew more about their own subject than they could tell him.

THE information amassed during thirty years of close and affectionate intercourse with England Le Play embodied in his view of the constitution of England. In *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE* he condensed this view into some two hundred pages.* There he surveyed the private life, the land laws and systems of inheritance, the changes due to the growth of industrialism, the influence of the church, and of the press. Passing from private life he proceeded to describe the forms of local government, based on the various units of parish, borough, and county; the governments of the three kingdoms; and finally the central government of the United Kingdom. Comparing this with his own country Le Play held up for the admiration of his countrymen the greater freedom of the individual, the less intense development of bureaucracy, and the absence of legislation contributing, like the French system of inheritance, to produce an unstable type of family. In France, on the other hand, bureaucracy is a venerable institution. It began with the legists of the middle ages. The later and degenerate Valois kings created and sold offices as a source of revenue. Colbert elaborated the system and covered France with a network of officialism. The Revolution carried the system still further. France emerged from the revolutionary period a state, rather than a nation. The interest of the two are often at variance. The system of compulsory division of property has weakened the nation by forcing it to practise voluntary sterility, it has strengthened the state by creating a host of functionaries responsible for carrying its provisions into effect. The ideal of a prudent French parent is to get his son

* *LA CONSTITUTION DE L'ANGLETERRE*, 1875, is a much enlarged and more mature account.—A.F.

some official post, with a steady, uninspiring routine of clerical work, and a pension at the end.*

THESE are not the only ill effects of over-government. Initiative is depressed when a nation is kept too long in leading strings. Bureaucracy is constantly suppressing individual functions to create a new set of officials. It is favourable to the growth of privilege of the worst kind. No tyrant is so intolerable as the official, whose object is not to serve society, but to reduce it to submission. The circle of vested interests grows stronger and stronger. In the end opposition is crushed and a scramble for a share of the spoil ensues.

THE directions of reform are less centralisation, less officialisation and less legislation. The idea of the state must give place to that of the nation, that is of the whole body of living working families, pursuing real activities, creating real wealth, and enjoying real well-being.

SOCIAL reform, therefore, is at bottom a change in the point of view. Le Play would have men look not at the machinery of a society but at its function, and measure success not by what they take from society but by what they render to it. The true basis of society is not its laws, not extension of territory, nor its politics home or foreign, nor its funded capital, but those occupations by which it was originally constituted, and from which it could if necessary be reconstructed. Society could exist and prosper without the lawyer, the stockbroker, the politician, the civil servant or the financier, but if the arts of shepherding, fishing, farming and foresting were lost society would sink back into savagery. These are the kernel, the rest is but the husk. Each is indissolubly bound up with the soil and round this association spring up strong and stable types of family, codes of honour and practice, local interests, and responsibilities of mutual service. The occupations carried on in towns are largely artificial, a kind of busy idleness. The ideals which correspond to them are expressed in mechanical and rigid codes of law. The weakness of city life is its delocalisation, its absence of social responsibilities, its divorce from the permanent interests and ties of mankind. The city devours the country as the lean devour the fat, without being nourished thereby. Centralisation flourishes at the expense of local vigour. The governing class becomes a class apart, mistaking routine and drill for organisation.

* [Mrs. Herbertson adds here a view of the Britain of her time.—A.F.]

"The same system is invading our own country and making itself felt in our system of education. The best man for an official post is not the man who can think and act for himself, but he who can write most clearly, add up figures most rapidly, and remember uninteresting details most exactly. These excellences are best discovered by competitive examinations which multiply accordingly. The prevalence of examinations produces the evil familiarly spoken of as 'cramming'. So entirely mechanical does this system of education become that one crammer at least in this country advertises that even the stupidest are made to pass. Instead of the education of living men for life we have machines for examining candidates, machines for preparing candidates for examination and machines for examination. Thus a great many persons manage to find employment, and the army of clerks in and out of employment grows from year to year."

LE PLAY never elaborated a formula of reform and to do so for him would be to stultify his teaching. Only the dead body lies comfortably in a coffin. A truth codified is a truth mummified. It is clear, however, that he would urge a return to the concrete in all things, from sham occupations to the real activities of life, from sham organisation and officialism to the organisation of stable families and social peace, and from the sham education of syllabuses and examination papers to an education for life.

HIS two remaining books, *L'ORGANISATION DE LA FAMILLE*, 1870, and *L'ORGANISATION DU TRAVAIL*, 1870, require only a reference. They expand those sections of *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE* which deal respectively with the family and with labour. He first traces the effect of the system of compulsory division in breaking up a stable family. The example chosen is a group of Basque peasants, whose family history and approaching decadence are carefully traced from actual observations.

L'ORGANISATION DU TRAVAIL owed its origin to the Emperor Napoleon the Third. In the course of a private dinner at Saint Cloud, in November 1869, the Emperor, who was to a large extent in sympathy with Le Play in his opposition to the system of inheritance in force, asked him whether it would be possible to make the chapters of *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE* dealing with industry into a separate volume. The result was the publication of *L'ORGANISATION DU TRAVAIL*, in January, 1870. By the Emperor's wish copies were presented to the government as an expression of the Imperial views. Unhappily, evil days were at hand, and before the end of the year the dynasty had fallen on the field of Sedan.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GREAT EXHIBITIONS.

IN order to present a picture of Le Play's social effort as a whole, it has been necessary to depart somewhat from the order of events and to pass over the busiest and most eventful years of his life. To suggest, however, that the years which elapsed between the resignation of his chair at the *École des Mines* and the publication of *L'ORGANISATION DU TRAVAIL* were entirely devoted to literary work would be to do Le Play the greatest injustice. On the contrary, few men of his day were so absorbed in practical life. From 1850 onwards he was, perhaps, the busiest man in France, and the most closely in touch with his times. His power of sustained effort, of mastering and classifying facts, and of directing the energies of a large staff of subordinates fitted him, and his sense of social responsibility compelled him, to take a prominent part in public work.

THE years which followed the revolution of 1848 were years of unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion. The introduction of railways completed the work begun

by the application of steam power to manufacture. Production developed with great strides, keeping pace with the ever increasing facilities for the circulation of the raw material and of the finished product. Men began to dream of the construction of great palaces of industry, in which should be displayed all the marvels wrought by human skill. The project must have seemed extravagant before it took concrete shape in the great Exhibition of 1851 held in London. All the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them were gathered together under the roof of the Crystal Palace, and presented to the wondering gaze of tens of thousands of spectators. Le Play attended the Exhibition in an official capacity, as a member of one of the juries, and furnished a report to his government.

FRANCE was not slow to follow the example set by Britain. After the excitement caused by the "*Coup d'État*" of 1851 had subsided, the nation went on its triumphant way. It was resolved to hold an Exhibition in Paris in 1855. An Imperial Commission was appointed to make the necessary arrangements and Le Play occupied a seat upon it. A great portion of the work immediately fell upon him. He was asked to furnish a classification of products, an arid and thankless task. In the meantime difficulties of every kind arose. When the scheme of classification was presented it seemed doubtful whether after all there would be any exhibition at all. Months had passed and little or nothing had been done. The buildings selected for the Exhibition were too small. Vexatious delays occurred in the execution of contracts, entries were tardily or improperly made, and jealousies and heart-burnings threatened the enterprise with failure. In August, 1854, only a few months before the date fixed for the opening of the Exhibition, the Imperial Commission was superseded, and General Morin was appointed Commissioner General. The preparations were now pushed on with vigour and Le Play himself worked with untiring energy. The threatened fiasco was averted, and the second Great Exhibition was triumphantly opened early in May, 1855. A week later General Morin formally resigned his post into the hands of Le Play, who was known to have been largely responsible for the result achieved. The Exhibition which had come so near to failure proved a brilliant success. Five million persons visited it and it was found impossible to close it at the date originally fixed.

THE energy and administrative capacity of Le Play had thus been largely instrumental in averting a failure which would have mortified the national *amour propre*, and proved financially disastrous. In recognition of the distinguished service he had thus rendered to his country he was made *Conseiller d'État*, an appointment which obliged him to resign all his other official positions and finally sever his connection with the *École des Mines*.

IN 1862 another Exhibition was held in London. Le Play represented his government as Commissioner General for the French Section. This involved several months'

stay in England and afforded him special facilities for further familiarising himself with the inner life of the country with which he was already well acquainted. The result of his long study he afterwards published in his work on the constitution of England.*

WHEN the second Paris Exhibition of 1867 was projected, Le Play was selected to undertake the organisation of it. An Imperial Commission was appointed under the presidency of Prince Napoleon,† who soon resigned. Le Play then became Commissioner General and undertook the gigantic task of organisation. From the beginning he kept three objects in view : first, to proceed on a sound financial basis ; second, to adopt a scientific method of classification, so that the Exhibition should be a concrete illustration of the industrial development of the world ; third, to give due recognition to the social element in industrial progress.

To secure the first object he appealed to the patriotism of the nation. The state and the city of Paris guaranteed 6,000,000 francs each, and Le Play then asked the public to raise a guarantee fund of 8,000,000 francs, in 8,000 shares of 1,000 francs each, of which 20 were to be paid up on application. The shares were all taken up, but the guarantors were never asked for their subscription. The Exhibition was brilliantly successful and the guarantors received 10 per cent. on the nominal value of their guarantee. Le Play gave his own services gratuitously and out of more than two thousand persons who rendered services of various kinds less than 200 received payment.

THE system of classification devised by Le Play was both simple and ingenious. The Exhibition was held in the *Champ de Mars*, and covered an area of nearly 500,000 square yards. The ground plan consisted of two semi-circles, with a rectangle between. Exhibits were classified by a double system, according to nationality and according to the nature of the product. The various exhibits, natural and manufactured, were arranged in concentric zones, while the radii of the semi-circles were devoted to different countries. Thus a visitor who wished to study the natural and industrial resources of a particular country had only to follow the radius devoted to that country, while if he wished to study the development of a particular industry or the distribution of a particular product he followed the concentric zone devoted to the object of his investigation. The most difficult part of the task of classification was to assign each exhibit to its appropriate zone and to decide as to the arrangement of these zones relatively to each other. In this Le Play was pronounced to have succeeded admirably. His order was commended as being at once simple and scientific. The arrangement he adopted was followed with unimportant modifications in the later Exhibitions of 1878 and 1889.

* See p. 98.—A.F.

† Cousin of Napoleon III.

THE third object which Le Play had in view was to call attention to the importance of the social aspects of industrial progress. The preceding Exhibitions had viewed industry entirely from a material point of view. Le Play, as might be expected, found it impossible to do the same. His purpose was to make the Exhibition a great object lesson in the proper organisation of industry. He was responsible for the addition of the famous Group X, consisting of "objects intended to ameliorate the material and moral condition of the working-classes". Ten prizes of an aggregate value of 100,000 francs were offered to such individuals, establishments, localities, as should have done most by their organisation and institutions to promote the physical, material and moral welfare of those employed. In the event of any instance of extraordinary excellence an extra prize of 100,000 francs was offered. There were six hundred entries in this group and the international jury which awarded the prizes and honourable mentions collected an immense mass of information of the most valuable description, bearing on the relative prosperity of the workers engaged in different occupations. The precedent thus set was followed in the Exhibition of 1889, which devoted a section to Social Economy.

THE success of this second French Exhibition surpassed all expectations. Between the beginning of May and the end of October it was visited by 12,000,000 persons. Le Play's name was on every lip. He was raised to the dignity of Senator and was created *Grand Officier* of the Legion of Honour.

CHAPTER XV

CLOSING YEARS

THE fall of the Second Empire in 1870 on the field of Sedan dissolved the Senate and ended the public life of Le Play. He had long foreseen the disaster, and had predicted it with uncompromising freedom of speech. When the blow fell he faced the future with courage. Even among the frantic excesses of the Commune he was calm and hopeful. The words of Bolingbroke, that national corruption can only be cured by national calamity, were frequently on his lips. "Though France should shrink to the kingdom of Bourges," he wrote to a friend, "our task is still to work for reform and to prepare for its future". As order was gradually re-established after the fall of the Commune he was overwhelmed with invitations to present himself as a candidate for the Assembly. This he refused to do. At no time had he put great faith in political action and he was now sixty-two years of age. He was anxious to devote his remaining years to the task of popularising the method of observation applied to the study of social problems, and of making more widely known the principles of social reform which it indicated. He retired into private

life, but without losing touch with the larger world in which he had played so conspicuous a part.

His house in the *Place Saint Sulpice* became the rallying place of all those interested in social science. In it were to be met all the men of note in Paris and most foreign visitors of distinction. There was the same welcome for men of all classes. No introduction was needed except a sincere interest in the welfare of humanity. The reputation and learning of the host and the grace and social charm of his wife made the house a pleasing one. There was no official stiffness about the little quiet, dry man who had seen and done more than most men of his day. Though he had been admitted to the intimacy of emperors and princes, and had received stars and orders from almost every monarch of Europe, Le Play retained to the end of his life the simple, kindly manners which had won confidence wherever he went. The household life was quiet and orderly. The mornings were spent at work with colleagues and pupils, who regarded their master with a respect amounting to reverence. The evenings were devoted to social intercourse, reading and recreation. At nine o'clock the samovar, a souvenir of his Russian visits, was brought in and ten o'clock was the signal for visitors to say farewell.

SOMETIMES the master of the house was indisposed for conversation, and preferred to be left to his thoughts, but at other times the talk flowed freely. To any who came to him with a definite desire for information Le Play was always accessible and ready to put his vast stores of information at the disposal of the enquirer. To the last he retained his winning manners, and his power of attaching his friends to him by the strongest ties of affection.

IN 1879 appeared the first symptoms of an affection of the heart which ultimately proved fatal, and for some time his life was in danger. His serenity was undisturbed, and before his health was fully re-established he wrote to a friend that he had looked death in the face without dismay. "In that supreme vision," he wrote, "I saw, not like some mystics the nothingness of life, but on the contrary, its importance. This life is the post at which we are set to win our rank in the next, and we should be happy to remain here for the sake of doing our duty."

FOR a time his health appeared to be partially re-established, but the same symptoms continued to recur. Early in 1882 it became clear that his days were numbered. In February he wrote in *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*, a review which he had founded, what proved to be almost his dying words. "At the end of a day's journey the weary traveller is glad to rest in the cool of evening and to look back upon the road he has traversed before the shades of night descend, hiding all but the mysterious glimmer of the sky. By the grace of heaven I am permitted to enjoy this repose after a career which has not been free from toil. I have watched the slow growth of the School

of Social Peace* and remembering what was the general attitude of mind at the beginning of my labours I venture to hope that it has been of some utility. I venture to hope for its future. Not that the need for effort is over. The road will seem a weary one even to those who come after me. But with God's help my successors will accomplish the task that has been begun, for they will make it their rule to serve the cause of truth in order to assure the reign of peace."

LE PLAY died on April 5th, 1882, a few days before the completion of his seventy-sixth year. In accordance with his wishes, he was buried in the quiet churchyard of a little village near Limoges where he had a country house. To this tranquil spot it had been his delight to withdraw from the rush and turmoil of city life, and there he desired that his ashes should rest. He left a widow and a son, and a family of grandchildren to whom he was devotedly attached.

CHAPTER XVI

THE INFLUENCE OF LE PLAY

At the present time† Le Play is represented in France by two schools, that of *La Réforme Sociale*, and that of *La Science Sociale*. These represent two sides of Le Play's work which are mutually complementary.

LE PLAY has always had two classes of disciples. The watchword of the first is reform, the watchword of the second is science. The former looked up to Le Play as an almost inspired teacher; the latter regarded him as the discoverer of a method which put the study of society on a scientific basis. The former honoured him as the exponent of a body of truths; the latter as the exponent of a scientific method of discovering truths. The first were concerned with the art of life, the second with its science. The first were anxious for principles of conduct, the second for a method of induction which would enable them to test the validity of these. There is the same two-fold division in Le Play's own work; the first represented by *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*, the second by *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS*. The two schools together complete the work Le Play began, and are therefore mutually complementary.

LE PLAY began the study of societies, he has told us in noteworthy words, in order to answer this question: "Beavers, ants, bees and other social animals achieve stability and peace in their little worlds. Is man alone condemned to see his laborious creations perish in ruin and disaster?" The form of the question is noteworthy because it draws its analogies from the science of the naturalist. It almost implies the method of investigation which Le Play actually adopted. "I wasted no time,"

* Meaning those who accepted his ideas, and supported his projects of reform, of which "Social Peace" was the objective. See below, p. 108.—A.F.

† i.e. about 1898.—A.F.

he writes, "in efforts of invention. I simply resolved to employ the method which has proved so fruitful in astronomy, physics, chemistry and the biological sciences." In other words, he set himself to study society as the naturalist would observe the ant, bee or beaver. His profession afforded him special facilities in this task. Scientific missions called him hither and thither, now to report on the mineral wealth of Spain, now to survey the Donetz coalfield. Each new journey brought under his notice new types of social order, and new facts tending to illustrate or explain them. He had set out with the intention of observing society as a whole, but this he soon found to be impossible. He then set himself to discover the typical form, and this he ultimately decided was the working-class family. "This," says M. Paul de Rousiers—one of the most brilliant members of the school of *La Science Sociale*—"was a real discovery. From that time social science was assured of its starting point; its real existence began."

ROUND this nucleus he grouped the important points of social organisation which appeared beyond the limits of the working-class family. "In the countries which he had studied," says the same writer, "Le Play had an exact idea not only of the life in the workshops and of the customs of the people, but also of the higher classes, of their influence, in the commune, in the province, in the state, not only of the material life but of the intellectual and moral life, of the history of the society, of its rank in the world, etc. It was in order to see clearly into all these problems that he gave himself with enthusiasm to the study of the working-man's family."

WHAT Le Play said himself was this. "For thirty-five years the motive of my travels was twofold. I was anxious to see the tradition of righteousness and peace at work among prosperous peoples, and to learn how, among disorganised nations, the elect few contrived to react against the corruption which surrounded them." He would travel many miles to visit a family remarkable for its admirable organisation and to converse with its representatives. The conclusion to which he came was that the problem was solved for individuals and for nations when provision was made for the moral and physical needs of all its members. "My path was clear," he writes, "from the moment I perceived that in Social Science there was nothing to invent". These significant words define Le Play's position. The case was one for induction, not for deduction. It was not an affair of conjecture, but a scientific problem to be investigated on scientific lines.

THE relation between the two sides of Le Play's work, scientific analysis and categorical exposition, is, therefore, clear. He believed that he had by the use of a rigorous scientific method established certain truths, and arrived at certain laws. He presented these conclusions to the world, begging experts to test their validity by the method which he had employed to establish them. He was unwearied in

his efforts to induce other investigators to follow his example. In this he was to a certain extent successful and the story may be told in his own words.

"ABOUT 1848," he writes, "a few men in Paris conceived the idea of employing a scientific method to co-ordinate the truths of social science. We used to meet weekly at an informal dinner held either at my house or at those of two of my most intimate friends. At that period of my life it was my practice to undertake a six months' journey every year to some part of Europe. I had a profound dislike of politics, in which my friends were chiefly immersed. I frequently upbraided them for contenting themselves with so narrow an intellectual sphere, and besought them to study with me the populations of foreign countries. I devoted myself to the task of demonstrating that social studies, a secondary pursuit in my case, would be for them in their parliamentary duties, a source of legitimate influence. My friends, retained in France by their interests and duties, did not follow this part of my advice, but they gradually learned to appreciate its utility. They urged me with much earnestness to bring to their notice the phenomena they could not observe for themselves. Little by little they formed the habit of questioning me as to the social harvest of every journey, and assisted me by methodical discussion to draw conclusions from the facts observed. These they brought to the notice of their friends and thus year by year the little group grew."

THE Great Exhibition of 1855 made France for a few months the centre of the world. Representatives of the landed and manufacturing interest, scientific men, politicians and all interested in the progress of the world passed through the French capital. Many of them were anxious to meet the celebrated man who was known to have contributed largely to the success of the Exhibition, and who had just published his great work on the working-classes of Europe. There was a very widespread desire to found a society to continue the study of the working-classes according to the method which had already yielded such valuable results. In the following year the Paris *Académie des Sciences* lent its influence in the same direction. The end of the year saw the formation of "*La Société Internationale des Études Pratiques d'Économie Sociale*". This was the first society which ever systematically applied the method of observation to the study of society. Collaborators and colleagues soon presented themselves, and the work rapidly progressed. The first volume issued by the infant society bore the ambitious and suggestive title of *LES OUVRIERS DES DEUX MONDES*. Other volumes were issued in due course and the series is still being continued.* The years between 1835 and 1870 were the busiest of Le Play's life, and were occupied for the most part with responsible and delicate administrative duties. His time was too fully occupied to permit him to continue his travels and he was anxious to devote himself to the interpretation of the mass of facts already accumulated. While his

* The latest volume I have seen is dated 1908.—A.F.

colleagues in the *Société d'Économie Sociale* were monographing the working-classes of two worlds Le Play was engaged in attempting to find a workable system of classification for future monographers and in formulating the general laws of social well being. To this period belong the group of books dealing with social reform, and the organisation of labour and of the family. This period was brought to an end by the disasters of 1870-71. Le Play found himself the centre of those who were anxious to co-operate in the regeneration of France by other than political methods. Le Play proposed to found small local groups in different parts of the country to be called Unions for Social Peace (*Unions de la Paix Sociale*). These were united to each other by their general sympathy with the principles laid down in *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*, and their use of the inductive method.

THE number of adherents in these Social Peace Unions grew so rapidly that the need for some means of communication soon made itself felt. A fortnightly review, *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*, was founded in 1881, under the editorship of M. Edmond Demolins. The following year witnessed the first of the annual congresses of the Social Peace Unions at Paris.

It will be readily understood that among the band of friends, colleagues and pupils who had surrounded Le Play there was a natural tendency to hero-worship. His death seemed to leave a blank which nothing could fill, and this was, of course, most keenly felt by those who had been longest associated with him. Then came the question of how best to do honour to his memory and carry on his work. By preaching his doctrine was the opinion of the elder men, by employing and perfecting his methods was the view of the younger men. Neither yielded to the other in respect for their dead master, but there was felt to be an incompatibility of opinion as to the best way of continuing his work. It became difficult to do justice both to the doctrinal and scientific side of the work of Le Play in a single review and in 1886 a new review, dealing with the scientific aspect of the subject, was founded under the happy title of *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE*.

THE older of these two reviews, *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*, may be regarded as continuing the propaganda begun by Le Play; *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE* as continuing his scientific works along the same lines, with a view to the clearer understanding of the Science of Society. Each in its own way is doing excellent work, the one in the realm of contemporary endeavour for social amelioration on the lines laid down in *La Réforme Sociale*, the other in the direction of social investigation.* Each school provides public lectures, emphasising that side of Le Play's work with which it is most in sympathy.

THE *Société d'Économie Sociale*, however, does not confine itself to monographing working-class families. It encourages systematic instruction in social economy, systematic enquiries into the moral and material condition of the working-classes

* Both reviews ceased publication more than 20 years ago.—A.F.

and aids the practical application of the results derived from such observations. It provides courses and lectures every year, and offers prizes to schools of all grades which have organised instruction in the subject. In 1892 it created a series of prizes for examples of domestic virtue and attachment to the *atelier* in the working-classes.

A LARGE number of its members served on juries in the group devoted to Social Economy at the Paris Exhibition of 1889, while many others were exhibitors in this group. The Society received a medal from the international jury of social economy at this exhibition. Its chief solicitude is to encourage all institutions tending to develop prudence and foresight in the working-classes, to develop the principles of co-operation and profit sharing, to ameliorate the material conditions of the life of the working classes, by attacking such problems as the provision of proper working-class dwellings in Paris and other large cities. It relies chiefly on the awakening of the sense of moral responsibility in employers of labour and others of the directing classes, and to the reconstitution of the institution of *patronage*.

TURNING to the work done by the younger school, the first notable advance was the adoption of a more scientific method of classifying social facts. This was the work of M. Henri de Tourville. The following summary is designed to demonstrate the value of this system of classification.*

THE monograph, as presented by Le Play, was an account of receipts and expenditures, accompanied by two commentaries. The first bore the general title of *Preliminary Observations*; it was a sort of introduction intended to facilitate the intelligent reading of the budget. The second under the name of *Important Facts of Social Observation*, gave opportunity to the monographist to indicate whatever observations had been suggested to him by the study of the family and which had no place elsewhere. That was in itself an avowal of inability to classify certain phenomena that were recognised as important. We find nothing like this in the nomenclature of M. de Tourville. The twenty-five great classes of social facts of which it is composed appear each in its place, in the order of its complexity, each vitally and intimately related to the one which precedes it. Nothing is overlooked; no preliminary explanation is needed, nor is any chance conclusion added. In fact, the earliest phenomena being the least complicated, the most simple, no explanation could be presented which would make them more readily understood. As for the conclusions, they must find their place among the more involved phenomena with which they are connected. All is included in the body of the monograph.

NATURALLY it is the working-man's family which is still made the basis of observation. It is that which the monographist is to study; and the first and the simplest question to be answered is: On what does this family live? In other words, what are its

* Based on a paper submitted to the American Academy of Political and Social Science by M. Paul de Rousiers.

means of support? This corresponds to the credit side of the budget presented by Le Play. But in the answer to his wholly material question are comprehended a multitude of elements which cannot be expressed in dollars and cents. Between two families which possess equal yearly resources there may exist such social differences, *from the character of these resources alone*, that they may represent classes diametrically opposed the one to the other.

SOME families live on the natural products of *the Locality* which they inhabit; such as those of shepherds, fishermen and hunters; also, the savages of Africa, who live on the banana. Many who have other resources have the advantages of herbs, of sea or river fish, game, fruits, wood, and other products which can be immediately utilised. Finally, those who enjoy none of the spontaneous products of the soil, still find in the soil the basis of their industry. The husbandman transforms the soil itself; the mason and the carpenter take from it stone and wood; the miner goes to it for coal and precious metals; the weaver, the blacksmith, the tailor, the cobbler work with, and the merchant exchanges products more or less directly yielded by the soil. All bear, then, to the *locality* a certain relation which must be determined, and determined exactly, for on it will depend an important characteristic of the family and of the society which it represents. The shepherd of the steppes of Asia, who lives by his flocks, depends entirely on the conditions of the *locality*. The society to which he belongs is a *simple* society. All means of support come directly and very simply from the *soil*. On the contrary, the English working-man of Manchester lives by the wages paid by his employer, and in his *means of support* he seems to bear no relation whatever to his *locality*. By means of numerous commercial agents, and under the direction of the manufacturer, he works the wools of Australia and the cottons of the United States or of the Indies. Through other agents and under the same direction he utilises the energy stored up in English coal, and it is in fact due to the presence of that coal in the subsoil of England that he is in communication with the locality in which he lives. His relation to the *locality* is, then, very indirect, very complicated, very loose. He represents an extreme type in a *complicated* society. Thus, while in the case of families in simple societies the means of support are derived entirely from the *locality*, in the case of complicated societies they are separated from it in an ever increasing degree. The nomenclature of Tourville classes them in the exact order of this increasing separation.

FIRST comes *Labour*. The more a man uses his wits the farther he advances beyond the *simple gathering* of natural products, which is the most elementary form of labour. This simple gathering, then, is to be placed at the head of the table; then follow *extraction*, which draws the products of the soil directly from it, e.g., the arts of agriculture and mining; manufacture, which transforms them; *transportation* which distributes them.

BUT there are other means of support derived from resources accumulated under the form of *Property, Personal Effects, Wages and Savings*. These furnish four new classes, which added to *locality* and *labour* give the six great divisions of the *means of support*.

WE know now upon what the family lives ; but we must know also its organisation, the relations of its members one to another ; that is the object of the division entitled *Worker's Family*. We come now to the question of the *Mode of Life*. How does this family, which we have studied first in its workshop and then at the fireside—how does it actually utilise its resources ? How is it fed, housed, clothed, cared for, amused ? This corresponds to Le Play's *expense account*, with the accompanying explanatory text.

BEYOND the ordinary life of the family, with which we are acquainted through these first eight tables, there is a very important series of facts which concerns it alone, but which occur only at irregular intervals ; these are the *Phases of its Existence*, the events which mark an epoch in its life—marriages, births, illness, deaths, new enterprises, etc. They have their proper place here, and the story of the working-man's family properly so called ends with them.

THERE remains a certain class of influence outside and above the man's family itself which completes its history in one way or another : *Patronage and its auxiliaries, Commerce, Intellectual Culture, Religious Worship*, corresponding to higher objects, intellectual or moral needs ; *Voluntary Associations*, which direct the interests for which the members have voluntarily united ; and finally, *Compulsory Associations*, which lead us to an examination of public life in its various phases. We have thus risen from the direct observation of the working-man's family to a study of all the social facts, even the most remote and the most complicated, which act upon it in any way whatsoever.

YET we have considered the society only at home in its native environment ; we must now look at its outward *expansion*, in its active relations with the rest of the world. We must also consider it in its passive relations, that is, the action of *Foreign Societies* upon it. Having done this, we are in possession of all the fundamental facts which are necessary for understanding the *History of the Society* and for designating the rank which it takes in the world. The crowning conclusion of the monograph is the synthesis of the different classifications which have been derived from the determination of each characteristic that has been observed. The classification is summarised in Table II on the following page.

EACH of these twenty-five classes is itself sub-divided with great minuteness of detail, resulting in some four hundred terms which make the complete classification. In the second place it modified Le Play's classification of family types according to the system of inheritance adopted.

TABLE II: SOCIAL CLASSIFICATION

A. MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE CLASSIFICATION				
I. The Society at home	Private Life	The Worker's Family	Means of Support furnished by Its Organisation Its Mode of Life Its Phases of Existence	The Locality Labour Property Personal effects Wages Savings
	Public Life	Groupings outside and above the Worker's Family	Patronage	Commerce Intellectual Culture Religion
			Its Auxiliaries	
			Free Associations	
II. The Society Abroad			Neighbourhood Corporations	
IV. History of the Society			Compulsory Associations	
			The Parish Unions of the Parishes The City Provincial Divisions The Province The State	
				III. Influence of Foreign Societies
				V. Rank of the Society
B. THE TWENTY-FIVE MAIN CLASSES OF SOCIAL FACTS				
A. The Soil	J. Patronage	S. Provincial		
B. Labour	K. Commerce	Divisions		
C. Property	L. Intellectual	T. The Province		
D. Personal Effects	Culture	U. The State		
E. Wages	M. Religion	V. Expansion of		
F. Savings	N. Neighbourhood	the Society		
G. The Working- Man's Family	O. Corporations	X. Influence of		
H. Its Mode of Life	P. The Parish	Foreign Societies		
I. Its Phases of Existence	Q. Unions of the Parishes	Y. History of the Society		
	R. The City	Z. Rank of the Society		

LE PLAY* distinguished three classes of families, the *patriarchal family*, the *stock family* and the *unstable family*, basing the divisions according to the method by which families in each generation disposed of their property, rather than according to the education which they gave their children, which is the essential function of the family. And the effect of this error was not purely speculative. Le Play lauded the family organisation of the Anglo-Saxon because it permitted testamentary liberty, the integral transmission of the family estate, characteristics, to his mind, of the *stock family*. Consequently he falsely attributed the qualities of the *stock family* to all classes in which the integral transmission of estates obtained, confounding in this way under a single denomination and in a single term of praise classes of families of very different degrees of vigour. He was in this manner led to place the same value upon the Basque emigrants, or upon those of Auvergne, who never established a single colony, as upon the Scandinavian and the English emigrants, who have been considerable factors in the social constitution of Western Europe and of the New World. On the other hand, he failed to recognise the stock family when, under the influence of certain circumstances, it made no practice of integral transmission. It was thus that he was led to predict the approaching decline of England, and to form very false judgments in regard to the United States of America.

To his mind, the strength of England lay in its attachment to certain forms which to-day seem to be threatened; he became alarmed at their probable disappearance, while he did not perceive that the social qualities in the constitution which he had so justly praised, were independent of the forms under which he had observed them; that they belonged, not to such and such testamentary conditions, not to such and such a political régime, but rather to the aptitudes developed among youth in the whole process of education.

In regard to the United States his error was still more marked. There he failed to recognise the *stable family* at all because there was no integral transmission of entire estates or of an industry. The American, who usually changes his employment several times during his life, can have no great desire to preserve for the generation which is to follow him a situation which he himself would probably abandon if he lived. This arises from the very conditions of his environment, from the amount of soil at his disposal, from the number of favourable opportunities which are presented to him. Hence results a certain material instability, the mark of a society that is forming and not of a society that is declining. But Le Play, who adhered to the systems of inheritance for the determination of family classes, heaped the same reproaches upon the American family, in which no one succeeds to the father's work because each one learns to create for himself an independent life, and the unstable

* When studying this and succeeding paragraphs it is essential to keep in mind the date of composition—about 1898.—A.F.

family, in which no one succeeds to the father's work because each one thinks that he will be able to live on a small portion of his patrimony.

HERE, it will be obvious, is a very notable difference of opinion between Le Play and the school of *La Science Sociale*. Le Play regards as unstable those types of family in which the homestead and as a rule the occupation are not transmitted from generation to generation. His condemnation of the French system of inheritance was chiefly based on its interference with this continuity, and its consequent influence on the education of the children. It has already been pointed out that Le Play, writing at an earlier period of the Social Revolution, undoubtedly assigned too much importance to the system of inheritance as the only cause of the growing instability of the family in France. The classification of families, however, according to the degree of individual initiative developed in the children, presents many difficulties. The new school, as a whole, is undoubtedly too disposed to exalt individual capacity at the expense of all other qualities, and the explanation lies, no doubt, in the fact that the excessive development of officialism in France has produced a natural and desirable reaction in the opposite direction.

THE review, *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE*, in the hands of M. Edmond Demolins, has published an important series of brilliant historical and geographical studies, bearing on the origin and development of society. First may be noticed the masterly series of articles on the simple societies to which the writer has already expressed the deepest obligation. In the following year M. Demolins traced the development of agriculture among these typical societies and the consequent modification of the social constitution. More recently M. Demolins has contributed a remarkable series of articles dealing with the social geography of France. Noteworthy, too, are a series of historic studies, such as those of the development of the caravan driver into a Mahomet or a Mahdi, or analysis of the legend of the one-eyed Odin into the miner with his lamp upon his forehead.

IN addition to their numerous and important contributions to the pages of *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*, M. Demolins and M. de Rousiers are known in this country also by their larger works. A few years ago M. de Rousiers published a finely illustrated volume under the title of *LA VIE AMÉRICAINE*. This was shortly afterwards translated into English. The English edition of *LA QUESTION OUVRIÈRE EN ANGLETERRE*, translated by the present writer in 1897, attracted considerable attention in this country. The excellence of M. de Rousiers' work, the originality of his point of view, and the value of his judgments were immediately recognised by the press.

MORE recently M. de Rousiers has published a work dealing with Trades Unions in Britain, which has not yet been translated. But the most noteworthy success of all has recently been obtained by M. Demolins' work entitled *A QUOI TIENT LA SUPÉRIORITÉ DES ANGLO-SAXONS*. This created a veritable sensation in France, and for a few

weeks ran through an edition a week. For several months it was almost impossible to open a French journal without finding some allusion to this book. Its aim was to compare and contrast English and French modes of education and to trace their relative influence on the national character. M. Demolins is a vehement advocate of the development of the spirit of self-reliance and a bitter foe of all institutions tending to increase the army of functionaries and swell the intellectual proletariat. An English translation of this book will shortly appear.

In England Le Play is best represented by the works of economists like Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Henry Higgs.* In Russia his most illustrious disciple was M. Pobêdonostsev, who published a life of Le Play in Russian.

THE END

* I.e., in say, the year 1898. It is curious that Mrs. Herbertson does not mention the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, which was well-known to her. It was, however, no part of her plan to give an adequate outline of Le Play's influence in the British Isles. During his visits here he made many friends, some of whom were much interested in his work for social peace and gave it public support. Full understanding of his importance in the development of social science does not seem to have been reached until Professor Patrick Geddes made contact with Edmond Demolins in Paris and brought news of the Le Play School to Scotland. Lectures by members of the School or embodying its ideas were a feature of the Edinburgh Summer Schools organised at the Outlook Tower by Geddes in the 1890's; and Victor Branford (an old student of Geddes) adopted these ideas with enthusiasm. Their impact, with other influences, moved him to undertake the organization of the Sociological Society in 1903 and to found Le Play House in Westminster in 1919-20. The latter step gave Le Play's work much wider publicity, and assured strong support to a movement for popularizing it in the form of Regional and Civic Surveys, Local Studies, and so on, which is still actively carried on at Le Play House, now transferred to Ledbury in Herefordshire.—A.F.

CHIEF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF FRÉDÉRIC LE PLAY

- 1806 Born : 11th April : Honfleur in Normandy.
1811 Home transferred to Paris.
1815 Return to Normandy.
1815-22 Pupil at *Collège du Havre*.
1823 Qualified *Bachelier-ès-Lettres*.
1823 At St. Lô.
1824 At *Collège St. Louis*, Paris.
1825 Entered *École Polytechnique*, Paris.
1827 Entered *École des Mines*, Paris.
1829 Travels in Germany.
1829-30 Visits to workshops in Paris.
1830 Disabled by accident at *École des Mines*.
1832 Co-Editor of *Annales des Mines*.
1833-40 Travels in various countries.
1835 Head of official Committee on Mining Statistics.
1840 Professor of Metallurgy, *École des Mines*.
1840-48 Travels continued.
1848 Resigned Chair to devote himself to social science.
1848-55 Travels continued.
1851 Visited Great Exhibition in London.
1855 Member of Commission for Paris Exhibition.
1855 Published *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS*.
1856 Founded *Société d'Economie Sociale*.
1862 Commissioner General for French Section, London Exhibition.
1864 Appointed Senator.
1864 Published *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE*.
1867 Commissioner General for Second Paris Exhibition.
1871 Organised *Unions de la Paix*.
1877-79 Second Editor of *LES OUVRIERS EUROPÉENS*.
1881 Founded *LA RÉFORME SOCIALE* (periodical).
1882 Died : 5th April.

THE CONSUMER'S ATTITUDE
TO FURNITURE:
A MARKET RESEARCH



From material assembled by
MARIE JAHODA

on behalf of

Messrs. P. E. GANE, Ltd.

LE PLAY HOUSE PRESS
LEDBURY · HEREFORDSHIRE

FOREWORD

Not long after her release from prison and arrival in this country Dr. Marie Jahoda undertook this market research for the Bristol firm of Gane, Furniture Makers and Retailers. The research was not officially sponsored by the Institute of Sociology, but unofficially I had taken some small part in organising it. I thought it a good project, useful as an experiment whatever the outcome, and was closely interested in what Dr. Jahoda could tell me of the work as it progressed. It was understood that the result would be confidential and for the use of Messrs. Gane only, and therefore no suggestion of publication arose when the task was completed some time before the war. Recently, however, in a very different post-war situation, with increased public interest in furniture, it seemed to me that objection to publication might no longer arise, and I approached Messrs. Gane and Dr. Jahoda to get their views on this.

Dr. Jahoda at once generously placed all her material at my disposal (subject, of course, to Messrs. Gane's consent), with permission to reshape it in any way suitable, so long as no substantial change was made. She asked me at the same time to make clear the experimental and indeed tentative character of the whole; if she now undertook a similar task she would hope to secure a much fuller documentation, and more accurate analysis and weighing of opinions and judgments.

Messrs. Gane also were very generous; they gave unqualified permission for publication, and Mr. Crofton E. Gane followed the details of the arrangements with keen and friendly interest. I am specially grateful for the firm's attitude to the publication of the second part; they raised no objection to the inclusion of the unfavourable comments found among Dr. Jahoda's notes. The small proportion that these comments bear to those embodying warm commendation is an index of their limited importance. They were studied with care when Dr. Jahoda first placed her results before the firm; since then every effort has been made to avoid the difficulties mentioned. Messrs. Gane have done a good service to research by their attitude in this matter: I cannot resist the urge to draw the attention of other firms to it and suggest it as a model in similar situations.

I have taken advantage of Dr. Jahoda's permission to re-arrange and condense some of her material. I have omitted opinions on or references to other furniture makers that might have caused misunderstanding. I have also saved space by omitting (unwillingly) the "Report Formula" used by Dr. Jahoda in her interviews. In almost every case the opinions recorded by Dr. Jahoda have been printed exactly as recorded by her. I have been careful to avoid stylistic alterations in Dr. Jahoda's material; during her early years in this country her Viennese English never failed to charm my wife and myself, and I should like others to share this pleasure.

The Gane firm (P. E. Gane—late Trapnell & Gane Ltd.), 87 Park Street, Bristol, in its early stages (about 1825) was known as C. & W. Trapnell and was established in St. James' Parish, Bristol. At a later date the proprietor, Caleb Trapnell, was joined by Mr. P. Endres Gane who had come into the firm at a very early age. Upon the retirement of the former Mr. P. E. Gane became the sole proprietor. He transformed the business into a Limited Company in 1909. Crofton E. Gane, F.R.S.A. succeeded his father as Chairman of the Company in 1933. It was by his influence that the ideas

of the Contemporary Design movement were adopted about 1930. He has since been elected a Vice-President of the Design & Industries Association.

A serious blow was dealt to the Company by the total destruction of all its property by enemy action in November, 1940. The immediate occupation of temporary premises kept the business in being, and the permanent establishment is now in the popular shopping district of Park Street, Bristol.

ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON.

INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken in the period September to December, 1938, with a twofold aim: firstly, to find out some general patterns of attitude towards furniture, especially towards modern furniture, and to explain them in psychological terms.

Secondly, to find out the attitude of the public towards Messrs. Gane in Bristol and Newport and in the surrounding districts.

The material from which conclusions were drawn consists of reports on about 100 interviews: 69 with individuals concerning the Bristol establishment, 10 with individuals concerning the Newport branch: 3 interviews with groups each of 5 individuals, 1 interview with a school class of about 25 girls between 11 and 12 years of age, and a number of conversations with experts. The bulk of the interviewed persons were women, but now and again a husband joined in the conversation.

As a rule these interviews were carried through in the homes of the interviewed persons. They were generally supplemented by a demonstration of the furniture in the house, which proved to be an excellent opportunity of checking some of the remarks of a general kind made during the preceding interview.

The interview lasted on the average about one hour and a half; in no case it took less than thirty minutes, and in some cases three and four hours. The attitude of the interviewed person towards the purpose of the research and the interviewer was generally friendly, although none of them had ever before taken part in a market research. This was probably due to the way the interviews were arranged. P. E. Gane Ltd., wrote a letter to their customers, and interviews were arranged accordingly. The interviews with non-customers were generally carried through with friends of customers who gave the interviewer a personal introduction.

All interviews were based on a Report Formula drawn up for the purpose. This was not a questionnaire, as it was not presented to the interviewed persons: none of them ever saw such a formula. The order and formulation of questions had to be adjusted in each case to the particular individual. This proved to be necessary, because in many a case the interviewed person was for the first time consciously faced with a problem, and found difficulty in trying to give a verbal expression to æsthetic predilections or social prejudices. The general procedure was that every item of the Formula had to be translated into one or more concrete examples; after having discussed those it generally was easier for the person to formulate her or his more general views.

As in any investigation based on case studies the question has to be answered: of which group are the cases envisaged representative? The great majority of the

interviews were carried through with actual or potential customers of Gane's. This means from the economic point of view with persons who have not less than £600 a year as income, and in many cases considerably more. (The amount of income was, of course, not asked for, but estimated by the profession of the family earner, by the general impression received in the house, and was checked by the experiences of the salesmen who very often knew the family for a long period.)

From the point of view of consumers' habits it is representative of a group of people who are used and inclined to buy always the best quality.

From the point of view of predilections for styles the interviewed persons certainly represent a group that knows more about and is more in favour of the modern style than the general public. This is especially interesting and should be kept in mind in reading the paragraphs about modern style, where it will be shown that even amongst those persons a considerable number is not in favour of the modern style.

It might be mentioned and it is interesting for Bristol, as well as for Gane's, that 90 per cent. of the persons interviewed are living in the North West of Bristol, the bulk of them in Clifton; 77 per cent. are living in houses, 23 per cent. in flats.

17 per cent. are under 30 years of age, 71 per cent. are between 30 and 50 years, 12 per cent. are over 50 years.

The following report consists of two parts: a first deals with the general psychological aspect of furnishing, the question of styles, and the function of furnishing in the individual life. A second part deals with Gane's position on the furniture market, in Bristol and Newport. In this part the question of London as competitor for provincial towns is included, and the attitude of the public towards Gane's is analysed.

A last chapter combines results from the first and second part to give a number of practical suggestions for P. E. Gane Ltd.

FIRST PART: PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF FURNISHING

The material culture by which we are surrounded is supposed to be the expression of our spiritual culture. This is certainly true for societies less complex than our own. In the present state of social organisation, however, the possibilities of expressing one's spiritual culture by one's material culture are severely limited. The amount of money which an individual can spend on his surroundings is prescribed by his social position in society and gives but a small scope for individual variations. The tradition of creating one's material culture by one's own handwork has disappeared to a large degree. Mass production with its retailing methods as well as the development of machine technique replacing handicraft by its superiority in efficiency are dictating the cultural standard. Thus instead of being the expression of the spiritual values and standards of the individual, his material culture expresses the technical achievements of our time, and is not the expression of, but a very important element in, the formation of our spiritual culture.

This imposed standard is by no means homogeneous. Our century has no uniform spirit which could be expressed by a universal style in its material culture. It could be maintained that one of its chief features is the simultaneousness of the unsimultaneous. Yet it must be said, to be fair towards the spirit of our time, that the homogeneity of past cultures is generally over-estimated. What we know of them is generally only the cultural standard of one privileged group of society, not of the masses.¹ There is, however, one important difference in the outlook of our time compared with previous cultures: whilst the awakening of the social conscience of society has certainly largely improved the cultural standard of the masses, there is no definite standard or style in the culture of the privileged classes. Conscious of this defect many of the individuals belonging to this class look for support to the spirit, culture, and achievements of past days. Only a few participate in the struggle for something new which has not yet developed.

Thus, the mass produced material culture on the one side, and styles and ideas of past centuries on the other stand in the way of every new attempt to express a new spirit by a new style. The result of this state of

¹ It is worth while mentioning in this connection that at a time when the old Goethe was universally recognised as the poet of Germany, the cheap and silly novels of his brother-in-law Vulpius were the best sellers in Germany.

affairs is an inconsistency in the values and ideas in different spheres of life: the highly trained engineer, the modern surgeon whose work brings them in daily contact with the newest achievements of our time, manage to live quite happily, surrounded in their homes by objects produced in times long past, by the help of a cleverly developed psychic mechanism which holds every sphere of life nicely separated from the other.

Furniture is the most significant and most universal section of material culture. In the field of furnishing we experience at this moment the struggle between traditions and habits and something new coming up: the modern style. One of the factors which make this struggle so difficult, and by no means one of the less important, is its name: "modern" style. For many persons modernism and fashion are synonymous expressions. Modern they say—but they mean fashionable—are dresses in a style which our grandparents liked. Modern they call the tendency in furniture to return to reproduction of other styles. Modern too is all the shiny rubbish turned out by so many "modern" mass producers (who, by the way, are really modern, because they use methods of retailing and spoiling of the public taste, which have hitherto been unknown).

As the term "modern style" is going to be used in this report frequently, it seems necessary to attempt a definition. In what follows the term modern style will be used to describe furniture which is produced in our days, which is produced according to the principles of functionalism, with the developed means of production of our time, making use of modern materials and trying to make adequate use of them. These features have been essential for other styles too, which, however, produced different results, because their means of production and their knowledge of material was different. Their merely ornamental ideas were never merely ornamental, but the result of the efforts of an individual to do his best according to his tools and his material. Imitation of the ornamental features of an old style are often experienced as a sham, because they have nothing to do with modern tools and materials.

There is one other term which demands more explanation: functionalism. That a piece of furniture ought to be suitable for its purpose seems to be a rather modest demand. Yet it was necessary to start in a modest way after the excesses of the late Victorian style. There was, perhaps, also an economic reason behind the emphasis laid on functionalism in the Post War time: whilst the Victorians wanted to show by unfunctional ornaments that they could afford to have furniture for their pleasure and

as an expression of their social standard, money was scarce in the Post War period and artists and designers made a real virtue out of a necessity in banning the superfluous in their products. Yet anybody who would assume that furniture has only the one function of being useful, would make a serious psychological mistake. There are, at least, two other equally important functions attributed to furniture by the public: an æsthetic and a social one. Unless furniture is, apart from its usefulness, also pleasing to the eye, and satisfying for certain social ideas and needs, its functionalism is only half realised.

One may assume that the question of suitability for a particular purpose can be solved by the designer if he takes sufficient trouble about the construction of a piece of furniture: takes, e.g., the size of the person into account for whom he is designing a chair.¹ Whilst this problem of suitability can be solved—at least in principle—it is much more difficult to design furniture in such a way that it fulfils the two other functions also, the æsthetic and the social one. Everybody prefers, of course, the beautiful to the ugly, and everybody wants his furniture to express a certain social standard; but who knows what everybody will consider as beautiful and what social standard he wants to express?

Analysis shows that those two functions are by no means independent from each other: people call something beautiful that fits into their social pattern. It seems as if they were not seeing with their eyes but with their whole system of social values.

This was especially noticeable in one case: an interview in the home of a poor working-class family. The flat consisted of two rooms, one bedroom, and one living room which was at the same time kitchen and dining room. There were two children, five and seven years of age. The living room was terribly overcrowded with furniture. A huge mahogany writing desk took the last bit of space which the children could have used for their purposes. A cautious question in this direction was answered by the woman in the following way: "But don't you think it is beautiful? It makes the whole room look so distinguished. I got it second hand for £2, and it was jolly difficult to get the money together. Of course, we never use it, but I would never part with it. It is so distinguished."

Obviously the cultural standard of the middle-class which she had probably seen twenty years ago somewhere had formed the ideas of beauty in this particular case. This seems to hold for almost all the working-class families who were visited. The argument that the modern style saves time, labour and energy did not appeal to those women whose

¹ See in this connection *Frank Murphy's Magazine*, Number 2, an article about the construction of a bed.

whole life is characterised by the constant burden of too heavy work. Tired as they are they do not mind an hour's extra work on furniture if the result brings their homes nearer to their ideal, the culture of the middle class.

The middle classes too, seem in their great majority to see beauty with their social sense instead of with their eye. They all want their furniture to be "beautiful"; what beautiful means becomes clear from the following enumeration of expressions used to describe their ideas of beauty :

"It should not look cheap", "it should express my individuality", "should express our social standard", "it should make people talk about it", "should look progressive", "should look modern", "should look first rate quality, even if it isn't", "should tell the visitor something about my character", and so on.

Another group of persons express more or less clearly that to them beauty is identical with tradition :

"Quality and tradition, those two make beauty", "I feel safer with antiques because everybody knows that they are beautiful, about modern there are always arguments", "Only in 200 years we shall know whether this modern stuff has been beautiful".

Every single one of these expressions gives in a most interesting way some social idea of the person who used it, but it has not very much to do with beauty. Thus, we must accept the fact that beauty is a social notion more than an æsthetic one : as a social notion it is of the utmost importance.

Appearance is what makes people like or dislike furniture as a rule, as shown by the following table. The interviewed persons were asked what they expected from good furniture. Their answers add up to the following totals :

	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Appearance	45	33
Comfort	25	18
Suitability : functionalism	16	11
" Atmosphere " ..	16	11
Labour saving ..	10	7
Quality in general ..	20	15
Other features	7	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	139	100

To avoid misunderstanding this table it must be kept in mind that in making the choice between various pieces of furniture, every item is taken into consideration by the customer : that they speak predominantly about appearance means that amongst all their motives this is the strongest one.

To make the attitude of the public towards the two main points, appearance and suitability, still clearer, most of the interviewed persons were asked to say what choice they would make between two chairs, described in the following way : one of them would be perfectly comfortable and ideal for rest and relaxation, but rather insignificant to look at with no special attraction in its appearance : the other chair would be not quite as comfortable, e.g., not of the right size, but attractive and pleasant to look at. Eighty per cent. decided for the lovely, but uncomfortable chair.

Another interesting fact shown by this table is the relatively small importance attributed to labour saving. All those who did not spontaneously mention this point as a demand, were asked whether they would consider it as a decisive advantage of a piece of furniture. The emphatic denial of this in all social classes was amazing. Obviously, even women of the working class who have no leisure time at all because of being overburdened with house work, do not mind their work in connection with their furniture if it adds to the homely atmosphere of the house.

"Without a vacuum cleaner and the electric duster, I probably would mind the ornaments of my reproduction furniture, and the housework connected with my furniture much more. But with this help it is only a pleasure for me."

"I would not mind a bit having more work for the sake of having the beauty of antiques in my home."

An attempt to analyse what role furnishing played in the life of the interviewed persons revealed that it was of the utmost importance for them. Many of them admitted that a great number of their day dreams were concerned with furnishing or that it formed a great part of their conversation with their husbands, when they discussed plans for their future.

"When we are driving through the country, we talk for hours about a particular piece of furniture, which we should like to design ourselves."

"Often when I am sitting alone at the fire-side I dream of how I could exchange one or the other piece, what colours I could use and so on. The result is frequently that I get up and rearrange things in the room. If you had come two days ago you would have seen the bookshelf at the other wall."

It is characteristic for these daydreams and conversations about furniture that they generally were connected with the idea of making the home more personal, a better expression of individuality of the individual or the family: questions of mere usefulness were left apart or did not form more than the first incentive to think about furniture. (This is partly due to the fact that the bulk of the interviewed persons belonged to the well-to-do classes for whom questions of utility generally were solved satisfactorily.) Only eight per cent. of the interviewed stated that they did not bother about furniture after having once made their choice. The following table shows numbers of persons consciously attributing certain functions to furniture. As many persons mentioned several functions the percentage figures do not refer to the number of functions but to the total number of individuals.

		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Expression of personality ..	..	29	45
Background for family life ..	..	26	40
Hobby .. .. .	..	27	41
Expression of social standard ..	..	11	17
No function .. .. .	..	5	8

In connection with the question of the personality of furniture, a number of people were asked what they felt about standardised pieces. The horror of the idea was universal, and shared by all social classes.

"I should hate the idea of going to my friend and find exactly the same piece of furniture as I have."

"I loath uniformity in every respect."

Some of them, however, realising the anti-social nature of their feelings which were in contrast with their general outlook, modified their statements.

"Somehow I don't like the idea, but after all, why should one mind it? There is always the possibility of using different colours or arrangements to prevent an exact copy."

In one case, the interviewed person went as far as to objecting to the style of Gane's furniture because it was too uniform and allowed everybody to see at once that her furniture came from there.

"The only thing I do not like about my own furniture," she said, "is that you can see Gane's handwriting in it at once. This could never occur with antiques".

This genuine and deeply rooted wish for individuality in furniture compels us to consider what possibilities any style leaves for variety and what elements of uniformity it contains.

There are two factors operating not in furniture itself, but in the English way of living, which make the danger of uniformity greater in this country than it is on the Continent: the way of building houses in a long row, one exactly the same as the other; and the open fire system (which is especially noticeable in the rapidly expanding Bristol).

No need to explain the effect of the first factor, but a few words might be in place to show the effect of the second one. In every house visited, the open fire was inevitably the centre of the drawing room, round which the three-piece suite, almost inevitable to the same degree, was grouped: two easy chairs at each side of the fireplace, a settee in front of it. On the Continent, the centre of a drawing room is either a sitting corner, or a table which might be placed in the middle of the room, at the wall, in front of the fire or the window. Those elements of variation are lacking in England, and thus leave the problem of making a home individual-looking almost entirely with the furniture. Again, the type and number of pieces of furniture in a drawing room (where the need for individuality seems to be most strongly felt) do not vary very much: the suite, occasional tables, bookshelves and now and again a sideboard. In many cases the rooms are not large enough to place anything else in them; in these small rooms the character of uniformity is emphasised by having a suite and not three odd pieces. The factors which thus remain to create the impression of individuality are: shape and size of the pieces, colours, material, and arrangement to a limited degree.

Especially the use of new materials opens a vast field of new possibilities for the creation of individual effects in furniture. Yet there is a strong reluctance on the side of the public towards accepting new materials. In respect of steel this reluctance is almost universal. Only five of the interviewed persons admitted the use of steel for domestic purposes. All the others consider it to be a mistake. They use the strongest expressions to describe their dislike:

"I hate the look of it."

"It makes me shiver if I think of it."

"If you want to make your home look like a dentist's waiting room, use steel."

"It's all right for a cinema or a restaurant, but in a home it looks cold and out of place."

"It is much less personal than wood." And so on.

In one case, the modern look of a tubular chair had induced a young couple to buy it. The husband, however, coming down the first morning

that the chair was in the house, to light the fire, happened to touch it :

"I got goose skin all over", he said "the same day we asked the firm to take it back and exchange it for a lampstand".

It seems to be difficult to do something against so strong an aversion, especially as it has a relation to the unfortunately unalterable climate of this country. Yet, no prejudice of a similar kind holds true for the use of various woods in designing furniture. Here is a large field of experimenting, which would finally win for modern style even a number of those who are now in favour of antiques because of the quality of the wood.

In respect of colour the idea of colour schemes is very much in vogue : only a few persons objected against it, saying that it made every room look like a window display and not like a home. There is some truth in this statement and the "ready made" look of many a room with a colour scheme certainly inhibited the expression of individuality. It demands highly developed taste and intuition on the side of the advising salesman to find for every single customer a specially shaded scheme, which suits the customer's personal taste.

Another element of variation lies in the adaptation of size and shape to individual needs. Beds, chairs, tables, writing desks, bookshelves, can and ought to be varied for various individuals. There is indeed no other means more suitable to express individuality, and none which guarantees more satisfaction. One particularly striking example of the effect of individually designed furniture was given by a man, who had recently had his study refurnished :

Before he refurnished his study was in dark uninteresting wood, the room overcrowded with furniture, yet without giving him sufficient room for comfort ; ornaments and carvings in the wood collected dust : the whole impression was sinister.

In the new study the central piece is a large writing desk especially designed for his needs : there is a separate table for his typewriter ; the drawers vary in size and are designed to contain special types of his working material. The effect of this change on his general well being is enormous : whilst working in the evenings was a disagreeable duty for him before, it is now the source of constant pleasure. Whilst he always used to have difficulties in keeping his accounts before, he is quite up to date since he has a special place on his desk reserved for the respective papers : whilst he never could find a book or a manuscript before, he knows now exactly where it must be. Besides, this change has revived his interest in æsthetics which he had given up whilst working in the old study. The reason for this former loss of interest has only now become conscious to him : he did not want to think about æsthetic standards and ideas as long as his own daily surroundings would constantly prove to him that he was living below his standards.

This possibility is, however, more or less unknown to the great public. They are surprisingly quickly prepared to put up with a wardrobe which is not broad enough for men's suits, or not long enough for evening dresses, with chairs which are a constant nuisance for somebody who wants to knit. The demand for furniture, suitable in this sense, must first be created.

The effect of furniture on individuals is admittedly great. Its unconscious effect on the formation of habits and on the outlook towards life and especially family life could not be overestimated. About the conscious effect the interviewed persons gave a lot of information:

"Our modern furniture gives us constant pleasure: we feel that we are up-to-date and progressive."

"When I am with heavy huge old furniture, I get an inferiority complex."

"It is depressing to live with ugly furniture."

"I don't think I could live with modern furniture. It is so superfluous, not serious, takes life too easy. It makes me angry."

"It gets terribly on my nerves to see all this so-called 'modern' stuff, which is only false pretence."

"My furniture grows on me, I am so attached to it that I would not like to exchange it."

"I become integrated with my furniture, this makes me happy."

"I don't like furniture to be cleverer than I am."

"My furniture gives me peacefulness and continuity: takes me away from the many unrestful features of our time."

"In modern style I feel that I am in accordance with myself and my time: this satisfies me."

"If I sit down after my day's work I want to have something to look at and to enjoy: this modern stuff has no beauty."

These influences are summarised in the following table:

	Percentage
Uninfluenced by furniture	12
Influence on nerves and mood	46
Influence on self confidence	24
General influence	6
Influence on phantasy and mental life	7
Others	5
	<hr/>
	100
	<hr/>

It might be mentioned that almost all the men interviewed belong to the group who say that furniture does not influence them very much. Their greater independence is partly explained by their less close contact

with their furniture, partly it may be regarded as the expression of what common-sense psychology makes a man believe about his greater emotional stability.

The commonly so emotional attitude towards furniture is certainly the result of the one great furnishing experience of vital importance for the individual : the first furnishing of a home of one's own which generally coincides with marriage. Not only does this event create an interest in furniture which very frequently had not existed before, but it influences to a high degree the attitude towards furniture. No event in life is more suitable for a conscious break with old habits and traditions than the foundation of a new family. The outward symbol of this new start is the furnishing of the new home. The generally youngish age of people getting married is an element in the situation which further emphasizes their readiness to start something new ; it is in the nature of the young to be in favour of progressive ideas and to look out for something modern. And even if there were no active will for progress in cultural respects, the young couple, bringing two lines of tradition from two different family units with different cultural outlook, are compelled to find something new, be it also nothing else but a combination of two traditional lines. All this works in favour of the modern style ; but there are other factors working against it. The most important one is the lack of knowledge of what modern is, and the second is the powerful factor of habit. Thus it can easily happen that the tendency to have something new results in having different accessories, whilst the idea of beauty—a socially conditioned habit as pointed out before—remains unchanged. The great importance of habits is shown by the following case :—

A young couple were interviewed, who had furnished entirely in modern style. Both of them were used to antique and Victorian furniture in their homes. The husband said that he had never bothered about furniture and would certainly have continued the tradition of his home, unless he had happened to spend a year in the States. He came to a club for students, and found himself confronted with modern furniture. In the beginning he was disgusted, and thought of changing over to another hotel, but after some weeks he got used, and in the end liked it so much that he never would dream of having anything else.

In some cases we find a strong and effective intellectual effort to break away from habits : this however, can result in going too far to the extreme. After a while those persons discover that their furniture is "too clever", too constructional, too intellectual. They are liable to break away from it and change to other styles.

In one case, the person started to furnish in Le Corbusier's style, and after two years moderated the modernism considerably. In another case, a person having started with modern style, had now "found back", as she said, to her mother's taste. A young couple used to design their own furniture found that after some years the extreme functionalism which resulted in odd shapes of various pieces got on their nerves, and they started to look for something more harmonious.

More than half of the interviewed persons explain their attitude towards style and furniture in referring back to their parents' views and homes; the others maintain that there was no special influence in this line from their parents, and that their ideas have developed with the general development of their personality. 54 per cent. of those who mention in this connection the attitude of their parents have developed their taste in consequence and in accordance with home education. 46 per cent. have a taste which is in conscious contrast to their education.

Here are a few examples of both groups :—

In accordance with education—

"My mother loved her home and her furniture and so do I."

"We have been brought up with the furniture I have now, and have seen it all our lives at home. We never changed our opinion about it."

"My mother was very interested in beautiful antique furniture. Probable due to this influence I am interested in it too."

In contrast with education—

"I was brought up in early Victorian style. Now I have a sincere hatred against everything early Victorian. As a child I had to dust the staircase gallery with all its ornaments and windings."

"I hated the way my parents lived; no style at all, no good taste about colours. When I rearranged my room at the age of eighteen, everything was contrary to what it was at home."

Those who said that they developed their taste in accordance with their own personality have certainly also been strongly influenced in the one or the other direction, but they are not conscious of it.

Imitation of the parental taste or imitation by opposition to it makes it difficult to argue about advantages and disadvantages of various styles. In both these highly emotional spheres rational influences from a third source are ineffective, unless a certain amount of formal knowledge as to the underlying principles exists. One cannot argue about tastes, but one can argue about principles, and as long as there is no reliable taste in the public they have to learn principles about style and apply them. What this means and how it could be done will be shown in the last chapter.

83 of the interviewed persons had definite predilections for styles, 42 for modern style, 24 for antiques, and 17 for mixing various styles. The percentage of those in favour of modern style is certainly higher than in the normal public, owing to the predominance of Gane's customers amongst the interviewed. Five out of those 42 have, however, not a single piece of modern furniture in spite of their predilection. Out of the 24 who prefer other styles, 16 have not a single piece of modern furniture in their homes. And out of those 17 who believe in a mixture 5 have no modern piece in their homes. It is a hopeful sign for modern style, that the percentage of those who in spite of their preference have no modern piece (12 per cent.) is much smaller than the percentage of those who in spite of their objection towards modern style have at least one or another modern piece (33 per cent.). This seems to show that it is easier to maintain a predilection for modern than for any other style, in accordance with the general trend of development.

Besides, there is a quite definite co-relation between predilection for modern style and youth, which again supports the idea that the new style will have made its way in a couple of years.

On the other hand, a co-relation between predilection for styles and social standards shows, that the very wealthy persons are less inclined than the middle class individuals to favour modern style. Many explanations of this fact present themselves at once; first is the comparatively stable social order of England; wealth is generally passed from one generation in a family to the next. Thus the very wealthy have a stock of antiques, are brought up in antiques, and influenced in their outlook by this tradition in such a way as to prefer it. But that this explanation is not sufficient was clearly demonstrated by one case:

Mrs. X. was brought up in a very wealthy family, surrounded by beautiful antiques. She married a man of the same social standard, furnished her home entirely in high class modern furniture. After three years she started to feel tired of this, thinks of changing back to antiques. According to her view modern style is not exclusive enough.

With the greater popularity of the modern style it becomes less and less exclusive to have it in the house, and too common a thing for those who can afford to have something exclusive. It certainly would be an exaggeration to maintain that this attitude is the immediate result of the effect of antique style in the individual's surroundings; but it is fair to say that the same spirit that leads to the inclination for antique style

manifests itself in the argument that modern style is not good because it is no longer exclusive.

The strong influence of furniture on the life of a family was again demonstrated in the answers to the question whether they liked their furniture to last for a life time, or whether they liked the idea of changing it frequently. Only 30 per cent. were in favour of changing furniture frequently; 57 per cent. maintained that it would be just as hard for them to part with their furniture as to part with a good friend. They expected it to last at least for their life time. 13 per cent. shared this outlook but felt that either for reasons of taste or because their economic position was then not so good as now they would like to exchange part of their furniture.

A few quotations from the interviews may illustrate their outlook in this respect:

"I certainly want my furniture to last for my lifetime. We have chosen it with much care, and are so attached to it, that we don't want to part."

"Certainly for much longer than the lifetime of an individual. Nothing else can give you this atmosphere of being at home."

"I want it for lifetime and longer. I am attached to every little piece, and I like the idea that somebody after me will enjoy this reproduction nest of tables, e.g., as much as I do."

"For life time: I like the idea to know that my home will always look the same."

The outlook of those who have the same attached attitude but want a change because they are not quite satisfied with their first choice is shown by the following example:

"If one has the economic possibility to buy what one likes, then certainly for lifetime. And if one does not have this possibility, then, unfortunately, one neither can afford a change every other year."

Those who want to change frequently motivate this generally by their wish to keep up with modern ideas:

"I don't want to furnish for a lifetime, because I shall always wish to be modern."

"New ideas come up, and one does not want to be in the background: therefore not for a life time."

"I should hate the idea that this house would look exactly as it looks now when I am old. One likes to keep step with one's time."

"I think it better to make furniture for shorter periods; this will enable everybody to profit from good design. There have to be two forms of modern stuff: modern furniture which is going to be the antique of the future; and modern to be worn out in a few years for those who cannot afford the very expensive stuff."

It might be suggested that with the probably decreasing stability of the social structure in England the second group, in favour of frequent changes, will increase in numerical importance.

Although the term "modern style" was frequently used by most of the individuals interviewed, its features are unknown to a remarkable degree, as already mentioned. This is the consequence of the universal lack of systematic information about it. The main source from which people get their ideas about furniture is the windows of furniture firms, as seen by the following table of sources of information. The percentages are again percentages of the total number of persons giving information.

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Window	40	62
Exhibitions	23	35
General interest in arts and styles	18	27
Magazines	17	26
Gane's (windows, sales personnel, etc)	13	20
Books	10	15
Catalogues	7	11
Others	18	18

The window, the chief information source, as well as the exhibitions, magazines, and catalogues are seen with the socially influenced eye, and not unbiased. The social standard of a firm is taken into account, consciously or unconsciously, in judging what its windows show. Thus it could happen now and again, that some persons would say :

"I love Gane's windows, they are so nice, and the best in the town, but I have nothing to say in favour of modern style."

It seems that the saying that it is no good arguing about tastes is also applied to styles, and thus most people lack the ability of verbalising what they mean by a style. This was experienced by the investigator during the interviews when people frequently expressed their difficulties in talking about the subject, although they felt sure they knew what they liked and disliked.

On the other hand, the strength of the verbal argument is considerable, and there is a definite need to use such argument. People want to have something to talk about, and so far it seems rather difficult to talk about modern style, because so many persons do not know what its essential features are.

Rather an amusing little episode illustrated what can be achieved by a verbal argument. One lady said: "You know, the chief thing about good furniture is that

the drawers run smoothly ; look how nice they work ! " with these words she pulled the drawers of her wardrobe, which did not run smoothly at all ; yet she seemed to be perfectly satisfied by this demonstration of her argument.

To increase rational knowledge about modern style would be, of course, a task for the general educational system in the country. In the meantime, much could be done by firms interested in sponsoring modern style. A few suggestions on this will be made in the last chapter.

* * * * *

To summarise what has been said about the psychological aspects of furnishing a few points may be stated :

- (1) Furniture is a significant part of our material culture. This material culture is partly the expression and partly a formative element of our spiritual culture.
- (2) Styles are only to a limited degree judged according to their æsthetic qualities. Aesthetic judgments are derived from social values.
- (3) Outward appearance of furniture is more important for the public than quality or functionalism.
- (4) Thus, a modern conception of functionalism ought to include besides suitability for a special purpose, the social and the æsthetic function of furniture.
- (5) Ideas about furniture show a highly emotional character. The public wants furniture to be individual, the expression of a unique atmosphere or personality. Therefore a type of furniture will be satisfactory only if it allows for sufficient variety.
- (6) Important elements of variation are material and individual suitability. In this respect the public has to get further information about this to appreciate furniture adequately as a possible means of increasing general satisfaction in life.
- (7) The vital importance of the first occasion for furnishing—marriage—gives a good starting point for introducing new ideas and breaking old habits.
- (8) The economically privileged classes show a greater conservatism in respect of predilections for style. They could be won for the modern movement by making them acquainted with the many possibilities for expressing individuality in modern style (antiques for the future).
- (9) The window is the chief information source about styles for the public.
- (10) Verbal argument of a powerful kind has to be used in a general education of the public.

SECOND PART: GANE'S POSITION ON THE MARKET IN BRISTOL AND NEWPORT

Although Gane's radius of activity extends over the borders of Bristol County Borough, the bulk of the trade is done in Bristol herself. A few data about the city might give a useful background for the description of Gane's particular situation.

Bristol's population in 1937 was 415,100 souls, living in 109,230 private families. The population is steadily increasing, and so is the number of houses. Big new estates are built in the suburbs by the City Council: private building develops in special suburbs satisfactorily.

The economic situation of the city as a whole is better than in many other parts of the country: for the sake of comparison Bristol is in the following figures compared with the general situation of Great Britain, and with the situation of Leeds, a city of similar size (491,880¹ inhabitants). The index of Purchasing Power in 1937 and 1938 was:

			1937	1938
Bristol..	..	..	127.2	130.5
Great Britain	..	..	126	125.3
Leeds	..	..	128.3	127.7

In Great Britain as well as in Leeds Purchasing Power was less in 1938 than in 1937. Bristol was one of the places where it had increased, and the position was therefore better than in Leeds.

The social structure of Bristol in comparison with another city of similar size becomes still clearer if we regard the following figures; showing the percentage of families in different income ranges.

		Over £500 a year	Over £5 to under £10 weekly	Over £2 10s. to £5 weekly	£2 10s. and under weekly
Bristol ..	6 per cent.		12.5 per cent.	60.5 per cent.	21 per cent.
Leeds ..	3.9 per cent.		13.3 per cent.	62.7 per cent.	20.1 per cent.

The percentage in both the extreme groups of income is higher in Bristol than in Leeds; social differences are more marked there. For a firm like P. E. Gane the highest income group, which consists of 6,500 in Bristol is important. These are the potential customers of Gane's, increased by those living outside Bristol yet within easy reach of the city. People from other social classes may now and again come to Gane's for

¹ This figure and the following in this paragraph are taken from the MARKETING SURVEY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1938, published by Business Publications Ltd., London.

an odd little ornament or a few yards of fabric: but to furnish there is beyond their economic range.

There are 204 furniture dealers in Bristol. This means roughly that for every 500 families in Bristol there is one furniture dealer. Realising that most of them only furnish once in their existence, and some not even once because they get what they need from parents, and that a certain number prefer to go to London for furnishing, one is induced to believe that competition must be rather keen. Yet this is not the case for P. E. Gane Ltd., who have a unique position on the market. Neither by customers nor by non-customers of Gane's are any of the other firms in Bristol considered as a serious competitor: we shall see the reason for this later on. If there is any serious competition mentioned it is generally in London.

The arrangement of the interviews which made it quite clear that they were carried through for P. E. Gane Ltd., made any test on the amount to which the firm is known in Bristol impossible. Yet it can safely be assumed that every housewife in Bristol knows the firm at least from its windows. The situation in College Green is central for the shopping district of the well-to-do people, and seems to form a fashion information centre for the middle class and partly for the working class. If there are persons in Bristol who do not know about the existence of Gane's, they certainly belong to the working class and have no chance to pass College Green. In spite of this probably general knowledge about the existence of the firm, a test in this direction would have been interesting because it would have revealed for how many persons Gane's is the furniture firm which comes at once to their mind if asked what firms they knew in Bristol.

The interviews threw some light upon opinions about other Bristol firms of furniture retailers. Individual firms were named by as many as 46 per cent. and as few as 5 per cent. of those interviewed: some of these are probably known to every Bristolian, but have not been mentioned in 100 per cent. of the interviews because no personal association with them has been established. It is perhaps not surprising that remarks on particular firms distribute praise and blame freely! In one case 34 of those interviewed speak favourably and 25 unfavourably; in another 5 favourable are countered by 23 unfavourable. The remarks that follow illustrate this point:—

"They lay lino beautifully, I think they have a specialist for this. Their furniture is cheap but nasty. They have a good kitchen selection."

"They are quite good in making what you ask them to do ; but one must control each of their steps. Very cheap. I ordered my desk and bookcases from there. Went down every day to watch the progress. The result is quite satisfactory."

"They have no ideas, 15 years ago they and Gane's were about the same. They stuck at the same place."

"Furniture not exquisite. Carpets more expensive than at Gane's."

"They are old-fashioned : they have the stuff my parents liked. I would never like to buy there."

"They are the second best : yet they give the impression of being old-fashioned. They put curtains up for me, but they did not fit. I had to ask Gane's to re-arrange them."

"A decent and expensive shop ; but they have not the same personal service as Gane's have."

"Quite good, but not attractive."

"Go rarely there. They have stuff which is everywhere. All average."

"Twenty years ago I ordered two carpets there to my own design : they totally missed the colour scheme. I was very disappointed. I chose two carpets of their stock instead. Nothing extraordinary, but they proved to be excellent wear. I still have them and like them—but nothing would induce me to go there now."

Less important numerically but more serious from a quality point of view are Gane's competitors outside Bristol, chiefly in London.

Only 38 per cent. out of the interviewed persons do not think of going to London for furnishing, some for economic reasons, but most of them would not even furnish in London if they had more money to spend.

Their reason for preferring Bristol may be shown by a few quotations :

"I look round in London just to get ideas : but I would never like to buy furniture there because of the lack of personal service."

"I believe in spending my money where my husband earns it. Besides, the personal relation to a shop guarantees reliability."

"A London shop has probably a greater selection in ready-made stuff than Gane's but there is much more fun in getting furniture specially designed at Gane's."

"I feel that I can get everything just as well in Bristol : there is probably only one London Shop to compete with Gane's."

"I think I get better and more personal service in my own town."

"As Gane's can get things from London for me, I don't see the point in going to town for furniture myself."

"Before I furnished at Gane's I looked round a London Store. They are neither cheaper nor better than Gane's."

All the others do not consider these reasons as valid: most of them seem glad to get an excuse for going to town. There is indeed the whole prestige of London besides the enormous selection which comes into consideration.

One London firm stands out as by far the best known for the interviewed persons. For 43 per cent. of them the name of this firm comes at once into their minds when asked about furniture shops in town. The next best known is named by 17 per cent.; then follow one with 6 per cent., and then a long list of many firms each of which are named by one or two persons only.

London will never lose its importance as information centre. By making it better known that information thus gained could be used to get stuff in a local town which has the advantage of personal service to the customer this competition could be restricted.

What has been said up to now upon Gane's competitors in Bristol and London has already partly revealed the general attitude towards Gane's in Bristol: according to public opinion, Gane's are by far the best furniture firm in Bristol.

Opinion about Gane's has been discussed in detail with every person interviewed. Although enthusiasm is predominant—"I have started to live again since I came in contact with Gane's", one lady said—there are some criticisms brought forward which deserve full attention. A first rough idea about the opinion in detail is given by the following table:

		<i>Opinion about Gane's in respect of:</i>				
		<i>Style</i>	<i>Quality</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Selection</i>
Positive	..	52	62	32	55	41
Negative..	..	12	4	28	3	16
Indifferent	..	2	0	6	8	9
		—	—	—	—	—
		66	66	66	66	66

According to this table the most positive point about Gane's is the quality of their stuff, the least positive is their prices: but also the selection they provide and their style are criticised in a number of cases.

Gane's quality reputation: The few negative remarks in this respect are made by those who compare with antique furniture. Antiques, they maintain, have not only the advantage of elaborate craftsmanship,

but even a better adjustment to human needs. This is indeed a severe criticism for modern style which claims functionalism as its first principle. It shows that in this respect much could be improved to satisfy high demands. It has, however, to be kept in mind, that this complaint is an odd one, as most people do not even realise that anything could be improved in this direction. Much more frequent are statements like the following one :

" Their quality is perhaps too good ; one does not furnish for generations, nowadays."

This " too good " implies, of course, that it is too expensive, in this sense it will be discussed later on.

In the high praise of Gane's quality the interviewed persons did not only include the quality of the furniture sold, but also the " quality atmosphere " of the whole firm. Now and again the good relations between the employees and the employer were mentioned ; some persons mentioned specially the good standard of Gane's workmen, not only in as far as their production is concerned, but also in the delivery :

" When they brought our furniture, they handled the stuff so smoothly, and took so much care, not to hurt it or the painting on the wall, that it was a pleasure to watch them."

Another quality enthusiast mentioned the new vans :

" It is just a pleasure to meet those fine vans in the streets ; one knows at once that they must belong to Gane's. Nobody else has such a high standard in Bristol, and takes so much trouble to keep everything up to their quality."

This high quality reputation is one of the most valuable factors in the whole policy of the firm. Whatever new measure is going to be considered, it has to be taken into consideration whether or not it would affect this reputation.

Gane's style : The percentage of negative remarks concerning style is higher than concerning quality. The main reason for this is that it is easier to test quality than style : all the personal predilections and habits discussed before play their part in criticism of style. It seems, however, that a number of persons are very sensitive as to the mixture of style in Gane's. More frequent are statements of another type, which reveals an interesting point about the knowledge of styles : some of those who are quite definite about their predilection of antiques, say that they like Gane's furniture very much. They do not realise, that this is modern style, but are guided in their judgment by the good reputation of Gane's,

which certainly must have the best taste. Modern style is for them what they see in the hire purchase firms in certain parts of Bristol, and to which they object. Quotations from the statements of those interviewed who are in favour of Gane's style would be monotonous in their unvaried praise. Therefore, in the following quotations more of those are chosen, which bring some criticism :

"They do not really stick to their style: have some very unfunctional articles, too many ornaments. Some of their stuff is good, some bad."

"Their style is very good, but does not give enough variety."

"By far the best in Bristol, but too uniform."

"They follow without selection the modern trend, have nothing of their own."

"I do not like every piece: yet it is exquisite because it is thoughtful."

"If I am not quite sure personally about the taste of a particular piece, I feel all right, in knowing that it is from Gane's."

"First rate style: I love to go there, it always gives me fresh ideas."

"Very good for odd pieces: but their ensembles are too stylish."

"I like it, because some of their pieces have the simple dignity of antique stuff."

"Nowhere else in Bristol one finds so many new ideas."

"Some pieces are very well designed: but they cater, of course, for every taste."

"Excellent because they design it as you want it."

As seen by these quotations there seems to be a slight hesitation amongst those with highly developed individual taste as to the possibility of expressing one's own personality by Gane's furniture. There is a certain anxiety over being too uniform by furnishing with Gane's.

One lady said "I like it, personally; but I hate the idea that everybody coming into this room knows at once, that I have furnished with Gane's".

In this connection it may be repeated, that the danger of uniformity could be met by trying to abandon the idea of suites, introducing at least chairs of different shape for men and women, or altering the colours for three pieces. Whether or not the colour schemes provided by Gane's are too uniform is difficult to say: although it was never mentioned, the investigator got the idea in going round, that the green carpet, e.g., in the bedroom, was a typical sign of Gane's handwriting. It must be kept in mind that with the growing popularity of modern style this danger of uniformity will increase; as far as now, a middle class household furnished totally in modern style, is still the exception and probably varies sufficiently from the homes of friends and relations to please the pride of the housewife. When it will be more common, people will certainly look for something exclusive, to differentiate them from their

neighbours. They might then feel handicapped by the colour scheme. It has already been stated that they all want individual furniture, that means something different from next door. Gane's furniture is individual in this sense for a large proportion today. But the very wealthy customers with the expressed wish for exclusiveness are liable to find what they want more among antiques than at Gane's. It should be considered whether it would not be worth while to introduce a department for "antiques for the future", as modern furniture has been called by one person.

Gane's Service : In no other sphere is the praise, when it is a praise, so enthusiastically formulated as in respect of the personal service Gane's provide. The very few critical remarks refer to some delays in delivery which have to happen now and again probably everywhere. The atmosphere of personal service and personal interest in every customer, due to the high standard of the sales personnel, is another strong asset of the firm.

A few quotations might illustrate this :

"Going to Gane's is like going to see a friend."

"I like the atmosphere, because all the salesmen seem to be enthusiastic about their job."

"A pleasure to deal with them."

"Mr. D. is an angel ; they all are, And so interested."

"The best shop I know in this respect : they are friends, not business men."

"One gets the impression that it is not Mr. G.'s business to furnish, but his hobby : that makes it so nice."

"In the beginning we wondered whether it was worth their while to take so much trouble with us. But now we are so happy with the result, that we are the best advertisement for them. It was a time of constant education for us to deal with them."

It has already been mentioned that personal service is one of the most effective means in the competition with London ; this as well as the last quotation show that everything should be done to maintain the present predominant good atmosphere and the amount of personal service.

Gane's selection : The relatively high amount of criticism is due to a lack of knowledge about Gane's : not all of their customers realise that they can get their furniture specially designed there ; and some of them who know of this possibility think that it increases the price so much that it is well worth while to go to London and select there, from the far greater amount of ready-made furniture. Further, not all of the customers

realise that Gane's are able and willing to order for them according to catalogues, whatever they fancy. In both directions some publicity would help to abate prejudices and to spread knowledge. That the adherents of antique furniture do not find there what they want need hardly be mentioned.

It is interesting to note that in no case are Gane's compared in this respect with any other firm in Bristol ; not even frequently with a particular firm in London, but with London as a whole. The customers feel, however, that this is not quite a fair comparison, and generally make their remarks about the greater selection in London in an apologetic tone. One special point has to be mentioned, however : it seems that the selection in fabrics is not quite up to the standard of the furniture. Here a large field for improvements lies. In one case it is also mentioned that the china department does not give sufficient selection. That this is not mentioned more frequently is probably due to the fact that many customers do not realise that there is a china department at all. If, in consideration of the turnover, it seems desirable to continue this department, it would be beneficial for the firm to give more attention to it than now.

Gane's windows : The general importance of the window has been discussed in the first part : it is for many persons the only, and for all the chief information about furniture. Gane's window, being the only one of its kind in Bristol, has further a special function and mission for the æsthetic education of the Bristol public. Therefore not even unanimous praise would be an excuse for not trying to improve it constantly. Especially it seems to be necessary to keep regular intervals between the changing of windows.

The period of one week, which is kept in principle, seems to be quite sufficient, and is the normal period for many other firms too. The advantage of an absolutely regular change lies in the fact that still more than at present the public would make a habit of going to look at Gane's window. A few suggestions of how to increase the educational value of the windows will be made later on.

Here are a few quotations from the interviews :

"From having seen the window I knew at once that Gane's are the best firm in Bristol."

"It is very nice ; I like it that they have rooms in the windows, and not just odd pieces."

"Sometimes very nice ; but sometimes I am sure Mr. G. does not like himself what he has in the window."

"Very nice, it made me like modern stuff."

"I think it is too neutral : they play for safety."

"Sometimes extremely nice : I always look at it."

"The windows are fine, but discouraging for people like myself. There are always the most expensive things in the window, and also in the first showroom. Yet they have cheaper things too."

"The windows made me like the firm before I had any personal experience."

"It's extremely nice, but too expensive."

The criticism brought forward in respect of "playing for safety" was, of course, from someone with a definite modern taste who objected to everything else been shown. From a commercial point of view it is probably necessary to do so. The reproduction window, to which this person objected, was especially appreciated by somebody else. The other criticism, the price question, is more common.

Gane's prices : This problem is by far the most complex one : nowhere the ratio of the negative attitude is as high as here : yet it is very remarkable that even here there are more positive than negative statements although all agree that Gane's are probably the most expensive firm in Bristol. Expensive, as many persons specified, only in respect of the absolute amount of money. Considering the relation to quality, it is not expensive they say. It is even more economical to furnish at Gane's than anywhere else. Yet it is a well known fact that only the very wealthy are enabled to be economical in this way : for the great majority the absolute amount of money that has to be spent at once is the more decisive factor. At the present moment, nobody earning less than £600 a year, can afford to furnish at Gane's unless he has some capital. There are, however, a large number of persons, teachers, young professional people, employees in higher positions, whose taste has been educated in favour of modern style, who would love to furnish at Gane's if it would be possible for them to do so. There are two ways to make this possible : one is to lower the prices, and the other one is to provide payment facilities which allow the spreading of the necessary expenditure over some years. Both of them will be considered in the last chapter of this report. To illustrate the situation, a few quotations follow here :

"Expensive, yet not out of proportion." (This phrase was used in many modifications by a great number of persons.)

"It is expensive, but worth your money. One gets so much pleasure."

"They have the reputation to be expensive : but it is not true if you come to think of it."

"Too expensive : especially in suites."

"Too expensive: not out of proportion in respect of the quality you get. But I often cannot afford such a quality."

"Buying a good thing is best economy: from this point of view Gane's are not expensive."

"It was expensive, yet we feel that we have had back our money worth in material, in learning about good taste, and in general help."

"Not unreasonable. If you tell them that you do not want to spend too much, they show you cheaper stuff."

"Not too expensive: one expects to pay for good stuff."

"It is a prejudice shared by many to say that they are expensive."

"Expensive. Would it not be better to lose a few snobs and gain a large public?"

"Generally reasonable: but in their work too expensive. I asked X's and Gane's how much it would be to arrange my curtains. But both were more expensive—by about £5—than a man who had to come down 150 miles from the north. This must be wrong in Gane's price policy."

"Reasonable, we don't consider it expensive compared with London Firms."

"Especially for fabrics and upholstery they are too expensive."

"They are only for the very rich."

This general impression is confirmed by the answers of the interviewed persons to the question why they did not go for a particular piece to Gane's. Of the 46 persons who explained their reasons in this respect, 23 went somewhere else because of Gane's prices: 11 said that they could not get there exactly what they liked: only ten did not even consider going to Gane's, being convinced that the selection somewhere else, generally in London, would be better. Two had personal, and not defined reasons.

A further question was asked in order to make it quite clear how Gane's customers feel about the firm, and in order to make use of their goodwill to find out where improvements could be realised. The question was: What do you miss at Gane's, or what could you suggest in order to improve it?

It is most characteristic for Gane's reputation that in many a case an emphatic indignation indeed was the answer to the assumption in the question, that anything could be improved when it already was perfect.

"It could not be better: I would not alter anything. It is just perfect."

Others bring a number of suggestions, which are all the more worth while considering that they come from loyal customers who brought them forward in the idea of helping in the progressive development of the firm. The most frequent is the idea to introduce cheaper furniture in

first-class design ; this was suggested by 18 people. Another group of persons think that Gane's ought to lay more stress on having some quite exquisite pieces of unique taste and craftsmanship ; the "antiques of the future" occur again here. The others bring odd suggestions which are worth while considering in each single case, and are therefore quoted below in extent :

"I did not know that they had lamps at all. It is so difficult to get them. Are the wardrobes long enough for evening dresses ? But I would not like to see their policy changed : it is excellent."

"Their wardrobe did not shut right. Their carpets are too expensive."

"I miss standing lamps with indirect lighting. Their lamp selection is not sufficient."

"They ought to have more exquisite stuff on the one side : and cheaper stuff on the other."

"There is nothing at Gane's in lamp shades. And prompter and more exact service (delivery) I miss : I have a lot to forgive them : but I do."

"There is not the final adaptation to human needs. Beds and chairs are excellent as good as in the 18th century : but keys and drawers are not quite as good."

"They cannot lay lino : they do not seem to be able to put the final touch to a room which makes standard furniture liveable."

"It's perfect : but couldn't they try to attract teachers like myself by being less 'frightening' ? Cheaper material in good design they ought to have."

"Somehow they ought to get more light into their showrooms ; it is too dark. The house is not as modern as the spirit of the firm."

"I miss nothing, except that they show too many modern things which are nice but cool and impersonal. They should make a cheaper department : but perhaps this would be bad for their reputation."

"I miss nursery things, and some old beautiful pieces. I have a criticism too : you always can tell a house made by Gane's : I don't like this. Yet I like the idea that all the furniture fits to each other and can thus be moved about in the house."

"Gane's function in Bristol is to form people's taste. They are the best in Bristol, but for this educational purpose not good enough. Still better design."

"They ought to have cheaper material in good design. This is the only way of educating public taste."

"Lower chairs for women ! The premises are not really up-to-date. They ought to have a woman on their staff. Questions of cleaning, wear and tear, little details are more suitable for a woman."

"If I were in Mr. G.'s place I would try to make cheap furniture in good design ; that's what is really needed."

"Greater selection in lamps and in nursery furniture. First-rate design in cheaper prices in order to interest new strata of the population."

"They have no lamps. Ought to have greater selection in fabrics, not only stripes. An apparatus to display fabrics."

"The only thing that we missed was that Mr. Gane did not come to see us and his furniture. We have never been introduced to him."

"I miss well designed cheaper furniture. I never would think, Gane's are going down, only—what a pity that they did not have it when I furnished."

"A few exquisite antique pieces."

"Lamps! O's are much better in this than Gane's: but not even they are really good. More individuality in carpets, curtains, covers and so on."

"It never would occur to me to go there for child's furniture. Couldn't they do something about it?"

Here, as by the way for every single point, a full study of the interviews which would identify the sources of suggestions and test their genuineness by the existing knowledge of the persons making them, would be certainly helpful.

As a supplement to these direct questions about Gane's as a firm, the persons were asked to give the story of their last purchases with Gane's or other firms. In doing so they revealed still more detailed information about their actual experiences with the firm. Altogether 147 purchases were reported: 69, or 47 per cent. were made at Gane's, the other with other firms in, and outside Bristol, in London and other parts of the country, with carpenters, and abroad.

In what follows a number of these stories will be repeated: they are selected so as to show customer's habits as well as peculiarities of various firms which can be usefully applied in defining the right policy for Gane's.

There are a number of stories which illustrate something that could be called "the inferiority complex of the customer". Salesmen have to realise that such a thing exists, and take it into account in dealing with customers. Here are a few examples of this type:

"I am always glad to get the advice of a salesman whom I know because I don't understand very much about different kinds of wood, and so on. I wanted a screen for this room, but Gane's did not have it. They gave me the address of a London firm, but when I was in London I felt too shy to go in. I hated the idea of going to a firm where I was not known, and who did not know my house. I felt I would not get the right sort of advice."

"Three years ago I wanted a great amount of cheap curtain material at Gane's. The salesman was terribly superior, treating me as being much below Gane's standard. I was very angry. Now Gane's are different, they realise that their customers do not only want the most expensive stuff."

That Gane's do take into account this inferiority feeling of a customer, at least in many cases, is clearly shown by the following case:

"What I love about Gane's is their understanding and personal service. I came

in and said: I have only ten pounds to spend. And they could not have taken more trouble if I would have said a thousand."

Yet, even today, things like this happen:

"I came in to G.'s and wanted a buffet. They just laughed at me because I was old fashioned. I hated it."

Similar experiences are reported in respect of other firms:

"I like a salesman to give his experience. But I hate it if he makes me look fussy, saying: 'Oh Madam, but one does not have this in our time.'"

Among the many stories told there are of course, some showing good experience, and some showing bad experience with Gane. But the amazing thing is, that over and over again, in spite of something having gone wrong, people are not prepared to blame Gane's. This willingness to find an excuse for Gane's is one of the best symptoms of the friendly attitude towards the firm. The following stories give a number of attitudes towards Gane's in detail: their social prestige is expressed in the following remark:

"I went to Gane's because that's where one goes in Bristol."

"Eight years ago we went to Gane's to furnish. The window attracted us, and then we know the kind of people who go to Gane's. And then what attracts me is Mr. G.'s social outlook, his personality, his absolute integrity."

Here is someone more critical:

"I designed a cupboard hanging on the wall, similar to a smaller one which I had seen in Gane's. They made it specially for me: but the springs they put in to keep the door open were not strong enough. I had constant difficulties about it. Sent it back three times. I blame them for it: they ought to have known that there were no springs strong enough to make it properly. And in the end they made me pay for the repairs! Yet, they are the only people in Bristol with whom one can deal."

Critical from another point of view is the next one:

"I like to buy at Gane's because they treat their workers and employees decently. But sometimes they have old-fashioned style, ugly and not at all functional, in the window. I wonder why. It is spoiling the educating effect of their normal window."

"Wanted a bookcase, designed it myself to fit in. Went to Gane's because everybody in Bristol knows that they have the best things. They asked about £6 for it: So I went to Y's, and they made it for me. Of course, Gane's would have been nicer, but, the difference was not worth spending two pounds more."

"I wanted a chest of drawers and a chair. We tried to design ourselves what we liked. Went to Gane's, X's, Y's, and Z's, and back to Gane's. There we found a chair just as inexpensive as at X's, yet much better. X's chair had too much fancy work. Before I went to Gane's for the first time, I did not realise that they would design something specially for me."

This is not the only case where people were not informed about some specialities of Gane's as e.g., the special design. Another thing they do not realise, and hardly believe when they are told so, is that Gane's furniture is completely handmade.

"Do they really work without any machines? It is unbelievable. Went to Gane's for furniture, we were very satisfied. Then we needed lamps, mantelpieces, covers, etc.; we went again to Gane's, because it is known as the best shop, yet they had simply nothing. Their selection is not sufficient, and if you have it specially designed, this must make it much more expensive. I should like to see them having their own design for fabrics, lamps, covers, etc."

"As to upholstery: they have the same material as everybody else, but it always is 3d. or 6d. a yard more at Gane's. I would never buy it there."

"The last time I bought blue curtains from Gane's I made a mistake. I saw the curtains in the exhibition room with modern furniture: they looked lovely, I always wanted to have something blue, and besides I wanted to save money in buying not quite new ones. Bought them after exhibition was finished. Now I feel they have too hard a colour for my room." (She is far from blaming Gane's for this!)

"When we furnished our house we went to A.B.C.'s because we had previously visited the factory there and liked the ideas of highly developed craftsmanship in the place. But we went to Gane's too, because they were nearer, could visit the house and get some idea about our requirements. To A.B.C.'s we went for furniture which we liked at first sight. To Gane's for all things that required more thought and help."

"We went to Gane's for all our furniture. It's the only shop in Bristol where one can go. Shopping which I generally hate, becomes a pleasure there. I bought everything in less than an hour. Excellent salesmen who do not want to impress their personality on you. I expect a salesman to give me the advantage of his special knowledge, but not his taste."

"Had curtains for drawing room from Gane's; they sprang for four inches, but I never blamed Gane's. They had it back twice and repaired it beautifully for me. I saw a lampshade there in exactly the same colour as the curtains but with flowers on it which I did not like. Gane's got one for me without the flowers. That's what I love about them."

"Do they really do everything in the factory without machines? One of their wardrobes did not shut properly, they had it back twice. Probably not their fault."

"I had a bookcase, a bed, and a table from Gane's. My friends said: you are mad, why Gane's? They are the most expensive, and you could have got it somewhere else for £10 less. But I would have confidence nowhere else in craftsmanship and quality of wood. Therefore I do not mind paying much more: I get more pleasure and security from dealing with Gane's. I never would feel comfortable in buying at one of the other firms in Bristol."

"A friend of mine bought a coalbox at Gane's. There was no solidity in it. It curved terribly at the side exposed to the fire. After all, a coal box is meant to be exposed to the fire."

"Gane's have the reputation of being a bit slow : I think that is true. Although I had a table made specially for me by them. I did not realise that one could get one's furniture completely and individually designed."

"When I furnished, I chose felt for floor cover, at Gane's. I was told that its wear was not as good as a carpet's. I understood that bad wear meant I would have to exchange it in a few years. But the real trouble is that it cannot be cleaned, so it looked worn and ugly from the first few days. If Gane's had had a woman she would have told me. Men do not understand these things."

"Although Gane's are by far the best shop in Bristol, they could be much better, especially in keeping to the time they have promised. I had bad experience with a carpet which was not delivered in time. And I am not alone in this sort of experience : my mother and two friends of hers had similar experiences. Yet they are nice and helpful people, and have the best shop in Bristol."

To end this account on the attitude of the public towards Gane's, one item has to be mentioned which is rather well known : *Gane's exhibition*. A number of the interviewed persons spoke about the last one in the Queens' Court flats. It seems however, that most of the visitors of this exhibition came to see the flats rather than the furniture. The almost unanimously negative attitude towards those flats has made people less interested and talkative about the furniture. But generally, everybody liked it. The criticism brought forward against it was, that it did not look like a room in which one can live but like a window display, too ready made, and not individual. Yet again, the group of critics in this direction was smaller than the group of enthusiasts. One thing, however, holds true without doubt : exhibitions are generally liked and appreciated ; they form even long afterwards the material for many a discussion and keep the interest in new trends of furniture alive. Their effect can probably not be measured in an immediate increase of the turnover, but they certainly add to the whole reputation for quality and of progressiveness, by which Gane's are distinguished.

GANE'S AT NEWPORT

For technical reasons the amount of time spent by the investigator at the Newport establishment and the number of interviews with Gane's customers there were rather limited. It will, therefore, not be possible, to give a detailed analysis of the situation there, but only some general impressions.

The Newport market is different from the Bristol market in many respects. Newport is a town with about 96,000 inhabitants. (Bristol

is, roughly, four times as big). It lies within easy reach of Bristol on the one side, and Cardiff on the other; both of them are not only bigger, but—and especially Cardiff—natural shopping centres for the Welsh population. The purchasing power index in Newport is not only less than in Bristol, but shows a decrease from 1937 to 1938 from 121.5 to 120.6 whilst Bristol had in the same time an increase.

The social structure of the population is again rather different from the Bristol one. The proportion of the group with an income over £2 10s. a week is smaller than in Bristol. The respective figures are shown in the following table. (Figures in brackets repeat the Bristol figures for better comparison.)

<i>Over £500 a year</i>	<i>Over £5 and under £10 weekly</i>	<i>Over £2 10s. weekly</i>	<i>£2 10s. and under weekly</i>
5.8 (6)	10.1 (12.5)	57.1 (60.5)	27 (15.7)

Apart from the different income distribution, Newport's well-to-do population is probably still more inclined to go to London for shopping than the corresponding stratum of the population in Bristol. Thus it happens, that the average income of Gane's customers in Newport is considered to be £3 to £5 a week, although there is also a limited number of well-to-do people who go to Gane's in Newport.

Nothing can be said from first hand observation or information about social and cultural standards in Newport. According to reports from those belonging to the firm in Newport, the population is "twenty years back in their outlook and standard and taste as compared with London". There is, as it seems, no furniture firm in the town who tries to develop public interest in contemporary style: at least, nothing of this kind could be discovered in their window displays. Yet, there must be a certain group of persons in Newport who, in spite of all the factors enumerated which seem to be against it, could be won for it. Certainly, the professional people who form the centre of those interested in modern style in Bristol, are far less in number: there is no University in Newport. But on the outskirts of the town new houses are built in great number, where teachers, employees, engineers and others live. Amongst the younger generation an interest in modern style could certainly be awakened.

We have learnt from the situation in Bristol that the chief factor in the education of the public lies in the window display. What use do Gane's in Newport make of this possibility?

The firm has large and suitable premises with a window space larger than that in Bristol. The windows show almost no furniture in modern style : part of them are arranged as rooms, part show suites or odd pieces of furniture. The window gives definitely the impression of quality furniture, but nothing suggests that it is the same firm which in Bristol has a high reputation for its progressive spirit and taste.

The same impression prevails throughout the showrooms. One finds the best type of an old-fashioned cultivated business atmosphere.

How do Gane's customers see this atmosphere? The most remarkable feature in their attitude is the unanimous praise of Gane's quality. As in Bristol there seems to be no doubt that it is the best firm in its town in respect of quality :

"Gane's are by far the best, and very obliging. They send you up what you fancy for trying it out. Their quality is excellent."

"Their quality is first rate."

"I came to Gane's because everybody told me that they have the best taste and quality in town."

"Nobody seems to doubt that they are the best shop in Newport. Their quality and taste makes it impossible for anybody else to catch up with them."

"I have a settee and two easy chairs from Gane's purchased fifteen years ago. It is excellent quality. Have not even had new covers for them."

This high reputation concerns also their style, and a number of other items of the policy of the firm :

"I think it is nice and refined that Gane's call their H.P. 'Interest' and that they do not have two different sets of prices for cash and for delayed payment."

"I look at their windows every week, never miss it, and like it very much."

"Gane's have not this mass production stuff and atmosphere : they are different and exclusive, that is fine about it."

But even from the small number of interviews one can see that the Newport public is very well aware of serious drawbacks which prevent the firm from being leading in the same sense as they are leading in Bristol, namely in something new. In Newport, they are probably representative, but not more : and there is a number of persons who want to see them leading to something new and are very critical of some features which they call "old-fashioned". The chief problem in this direction seems to be the service in respect of its tempo.

One lady who was very enthusiastic in speaking about Gane's quality, said :

"... but the trouble with Gane's is that they never do anything correctly as they have promised. They are slow and slack, and inefficient. Probably because they are

understaffed. This old-fashioned management is dreadful. Many of our friends whom we have sent there because of the quality say the same. Sometimes we get very angry : we had to wait a year's time for our curtains to be put up."

"Why do they charge separately for lino laying? None of the other Newport firms do. Besides, I was charged two hours more than the workman spent here. On reclamation, it was corrected. But why did they do it first?"

"There is one man in there who is so very superior : I don't like this. The others are nice. Their service is not good, much too slow!"

Some of the customers take this tempo of delivery in a better spirit : one said :

"I waited three months for a repair : but one expects this somehow, I was not angry."

One customer objected to the somewhat overcrowded windows : she said :

"They are not as nice as they could be. A room arrangement in the window would be much better. Rather show fewer things but nicely arranged."

"I expected more new ideas from Gane's : somebody who could give ideas. But there was nobody."

"Gane's have more expensive stuff in the windows than inside. This makes people afraid of going in. It would do no harm if the prices were always clearly marked."

"I don't like their arrangement inside the shop. They have, e.g., an assortment of very ugly mirrors, one hanging beside the other. Why? Then I think they have too many velvet moquette covers : they always look old-fashioned."

That the public is not sufficiently informed about various sides of Gane's policy becomes clear from the following :

"Couldn't they have model rooms inside and exchange them once a week? Why don't they ever advertise their prices. Some of my friends say that they are too expensive. I know that this is not true : but others don't. I did not know before you told me, that they had fabrics at all!"

Considering the results of these few interviews as well as the general impression the firm in Newport gave to the investigator, it seems that there is certainly no immediate danger if everything goes on there as it does at the present moment : but there is a danger in the long run, that the Newport public will develop its demands and taste faster than the firm. Therefore it seems worth while to encourage a new spirit in the firm, to alter the obvious critical items of the policy, as e.g., the slow delivery, and to introduce the modern style wholeheartedly. It has to be kept in mind, that any alteration must be not only carried through, but made

publicly known by means of publicity in order to alter the attitude of those who, having had their experiences with the firm, believe it to be old-fashioned. An exhibition, steady advertising of the new ideas, an alteration of the style displayed in the windows would certainly have effect.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the policy of Gane's and to make some practical suggestions in the light of the preceding presentation of problems and facts.

There is no doubt that Gane's reputation as a quality firm is their most precious asset. To maintain this reputation must therefore be the leading idea for whatever is done in and by the firm. Quality, however, is a relative notion and is understood as such by the public: that means that the public in speaking of quality takes into account the relation between price and quality. And as there are practically no customers at all for whom money considerations do not play a part, they do not expect an absolutely ideal quality; they are, e.g., as has been shown, willing to put up with fading and shrinking of material, etc. What they appreciate about Gane's is the constant effort of the firm to improve the relation between price and quality in favour of the latter: the public is convinced that the relation between those two items is as good as possible at Gane's; and this is what has to be maintained; not an absolute standard of quality which can never be reached, and would limit the social spheres who take an interest in quality furniture still more. With this idea of quality in mind as the most important feature in Gane's policy the following items are suggested:

(1) To reconsider the social strata for which the firm is catering. The public is obviously of the opinion that unless one earns at least £700 a year, it is impossible to furnish with Gane's. The firm considers the lower income limit as about £600 a year. Both estimates are, however, above the income level of some groups of the population who have a keen interest in good design and are unable to furnish in Bristol up to the standard of their taste. Highly qualified employees, young professional people, engineers, and especially teachers belong to this group. To win their interest and attention would not only be beneficial from the point of view of an immediate increase in the turnover, but would play an important part in the general education of the Bristol public to a higher standard of taste. How can this be achieved?

A lowering of the prices in general is probably not practicable, and would, on the other hand, include the danger of losing those amongst the present customers for whom the exclusiveness of the firm is a strong stimulation to deal with them. Thus the firm has to take into account that there are two strata of the population for whom it can and ought to provide furniture: those who want the best possible quality, want to keep their furniture for a lifetime, and have it as exclusive and as individual as possible; and those who want to have good design but at lower prices, who do not want their furniture to last for a lifetime, and do not mind its being less exclusive. As a matter of fact, there are already both types of furniture to be got at Gane's but the general public is not informed about it. Therefore it seems to be in accordance with the quality and reliability of the firm's service to apply a frank and open policy in every respect; that means to inform the public about those two possibilities in detail, and to keep both types of furniture clearly separated from each other. It is suggested to have two separate names for the two types of furniture. One "Contemporary style", the other "Gane's quality furniture", the first being intended for customers who are not able to pay for the highest quality, the other for those who are able to do so. To stress the difference, it would be advisable to have a special trade mark on the quality furniture, or to combine it with some kind of a guarantee. In the contemporary style department customers must be informed about the presumable lifetime of the furniture they buy, and its special advantages as well as disadvantages.

There is no doubt that Gane's can provide the high class quality furniture. The only point to be considered in this respect is whether it would not be worth while to design a few exquisite and unique pieces which deserve the title "antiques for the future", and to display them in the windows occasionally. More difficult is the problem of providing furniture of the other type. There are two possibilities of doing so: to buy them or to produce them. It seems to fit better into Gane's whole atmosphere if production of good design in cheaper form is considered. The good style does not increase the costs of production considerably, as the firm has a sufficient amount of experience in this line. Thus there are only two other factors the costs of which could be reduced: material and working hours. For the latter the use of machines would have to be considered. This need not, by any means, reduce the quality. It seems that a number of high-class firms use machinery at least for the rough

work and have only the joining and finishing done by hand. Such furniture would certainly appeal to a new circle of customers, not only in Bristol but also in Newport, and would certainly increase the turnover of the firm. The quality department would not suffer if this alteration were carried through in a careful way and by well-planned publicity.

(2) To increase Gane's activities in the line of a general education of taste in Bristol. It has been pointed out that the general knowledge about styles and other qualities according to which furniture may be judged is but poor. Thus people often rely on the first appearance, and are not able to appreciate other items sufficiently. This is a handicap in the creating of interest in the modern style. The chief lack in the knowledge of the public seems to be knowledge of material. Therefore it is suggested that a permanent exhibition in Gane's premises, to be renewed three or four times a year should be planned as a regular institution. The exhibition should not be confined to demonstrating various materials, but could include all features of style, as colours, colour schemes, architecture, and so on, in turn. Here are a few examples of suitable subjects :

(a) An exhibition of photographs showing art objects where one and the same subject is represented in different material. Thus if a lion were the subject representations of lions in wood, in stone, in bronze, in marble, in painting (water colours and oil), in drawing, would be shown. Each would bring out different features of the model in different ways. Such an exhibition with a few explanatory words as to the nature of the material used would certainly develop a better understanding of the use of material.

(b) An exhibition of, say, chairs from various periods made from various materials. The idea is the same as with (a); the application to furniture more obvious. The prejudice against bentwood and steel could thus be influenced.

(c) An exhibition of photos, showing one and the same subject in good and bad execution, e.g., in representing "Night" a juxtaposition of Michelangelo's presentation of the subject with one of the vulgar picture post cards would make the spectator appreciate quality, style and taste.

(d) Tables inlaid in different styles.

(e) An exhibition of photos showing English architecture for the normal house in various historic periods.

(f) An exhibition of photos showing the development of design in motor cars.

(g) An exhibition of colour schemes, matching and discordant colours.

Every exhibition could be inaugurated by a short lecture: it would be for the lecturer to show the adaptation of the underlying principles to the problem of furnishing.

These exhibitions, if carried through as a regular institution would not only be in accordance with Gane's reputation and educational function in Bristol, but would increase their reputation, spread knowledge of arts, and attract a large public to the showrooms.

(3) To increase the interest of Gane's windows and showrooms by making them more informative. The best way to do so would probably be by a more frequent use of show tickets. The use of new material must be explained to the public, if the public are to appreciate it. A few words, giving the name of the material, its origin, its special advantages, and so on would make people talk about it. This they cannot do unless they know the name. (Examples of various woods should be always at hand to demonstrate to the customers.)

(4) To improve the selection and display of any articles in connection with which the public doubt Gane's abilities. There are chiefly two articles which fall into this category: lamps and nursery furniture. It seems that modern lighting has not been developed to the same good standard as the rest of modern furniture. Yet it certainly must be possible to keep this in mind, to encourage new designs and to give full attention to the buying of lamps.

For nursery furniture the idea of unit furniture could be made use of. Many customers of Gane's buy their nursery furniture at other places. They do not want to spend money on it, because they believe that after three or four years they will not be able to make an adequate use of these pieces. They have to be shown how the furniture for the baby can be used as furniture for the boy or girl. To abate the prejudice that Gane's don't do nursery furniture, a window display of it would certainly be helpful.

(5) To increase the interest in furniture of high quality by taking interested customers round to the workshops and demonstrating the difference between hand- and machine-made furniture there. A number of customers stated spontaneously that they would be most interested to see their furniture made.

(6) To improve the inner organisation in order to allow a constant control of the success or failure of various measures. It seems, e.g., that at the present moment it cannot be stated with security whether the existing china department is worth the space given to its display or not. A simple reorganisation of the accounts kept ought to make it possible to follow up month by month the turnover of all the existing departments: hard furniture, fabrics, carpets, china, wooden utensils, glass, repairs and so on. If every salesman would make a point of separating these items in his books, the adding up and drawing of the curves at the end of the month could not take more than one or two hours work. This amount would be worth while for the sake of having the constant possibility of control.

All those experiments can be easily carried through without an increase of the staff, if every person is made responsible for one or the other. A plan worked out at the beginning of a period of one year, distributing the various functions to the staff, would not increase their amount of work to a considerable degree, but certainly would increase their interest and their qualifications. The material of the exhibitions could be used with advantage in Newport too.

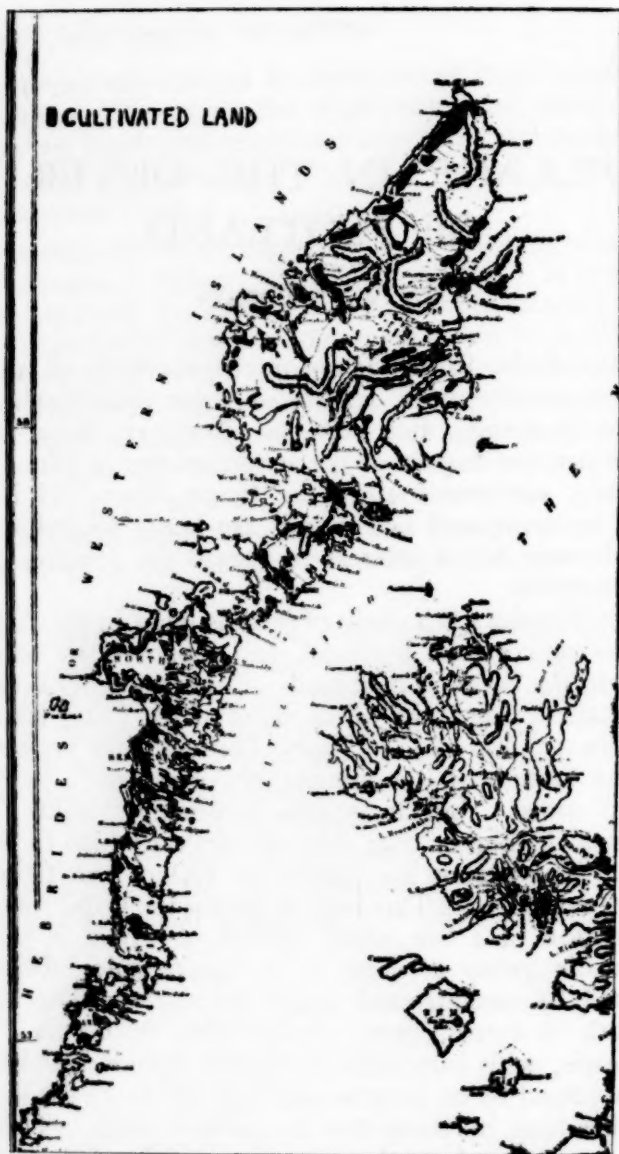
There is also the possibility of interesting the Good Furnishing Group in some of these suggestions: yet it seems to be better to do so only after Gane's have had sufficient experience and after a period of successful working of the group.

THE VILLAGE IN THE OUTER ISLES OF SCOTLAND

By W. J. GIBSON

In no part of the British Isles are the survivals of an earlier and simpler state of society more definite or more picturesque than in the Outer Isles of Scotland. But here, as elsewhere, these are gradually giving way before the impact of the newer modes of life. The change has been greatly accelerated since the Great War: old isolations are being broken in upon, and new bonds are being forged with the outside world. It may be of interest to record the features that survive before they disappear.

The Outer Hebrides is a chain of islands lying in the Atlantic Ocean off the north-west coast of Scotland, and separated by thirty miles of stormy sea from the Scottish mainland. From south to north the group stretches 130 miles; hence its other name of the Long Island. As the isles lie between 57° and $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of North Latitude they are on the border of the northern trough of low atmospheric pressure. So their climate is stormy and moist; but it is also surprisingly mild. The winter temperature is 2° F. higher than that of London which in latitude is 7° farther south. The islands are subject to violent and frequent winds, often rising to gale force. This may be partly the cause that the region, with the exception of a few small patches of wood, is treeless. The area of the whole group is about 1,100 square miles, the greater part of this covered by uncultivated rough moorland. The main islands are, from south to north, Barra, South Uist, Benbecula, North Uist, Harris and Lewis, with hundreds of smaller islands and islets. Lewis and Harris are joined by an isthmus and together form the largest island, some sixty miles long by thirty-two in extreme width. The population of the whole group numbers about 40,000, mainly of the crofter-fisherman class. Their homes are grouped in villages, almost invariably sited on the coast. The small proportion of the surface available for cultivation is indicated on the map.



THE OUTER HEBRIDES IN RELATION TO THE NORTH-WEST MAINLAND OF SCOTLAND.

The small proportion of cultivated land is to be noted. The regular steamer services for passengers connect the Islands with three rail-heads—KYLE OF LOCHALSH (for Aberdeen, Inverness, Glasgow and Edinburgh), MALLAIG (for Fort William, Glasgow and Edinburgh), and OBAN (for Glasgow and Edinburgh).

RELIEF AND SURFACE

As regards relief, the isles are a ridge of ancient crystalline rocks, mainly archæan gneiss, rising at its highest point, in Harris, to 2,600 feet. In the southern island the hilly part is towards the eastern side. Much of the surface consists of low-lying ground covered by peaty bogs, and dotted with numerous freshwater lochs. Other extensive areas show craggy knolls and hill-slopes covered with a short growth of heather. The sea margin of the land shows rocky cliffs but with breaks of sandy bays, most frequent on the west coasts. Many long narrow arms of the sea run far inland, an indication of a *drowned coast*. Where sandy beaches occur there are usually stretches of dunes, with level links of shelly sand forming the "machair" lands, covered with a pleasant mat of short grass and flowery herbs. As these machairs are more frequent on the west coasts, and the prevailing winds are from the south-west and west, the beach sand is often drifted inland towards the higher ground. This sand contains a large proportion of shelly material and so serves to neutralise the sour peat soil of the hill-slopes over which it is blown, thus greatly improving its grazing quality. At favoured spots this improved pasture may be found as high on the western slopes of the hills as the 250-foot contour.

The weathering of the ancient Lewisian gneiss gives a shallow soil of poor quality deficient in lime and phosphates. In natural conditions where the actual rock is not exposed at the surface it is overlaid by a deposit of peat, or by a drift of glacial clay carrying a peat coating. The cutting of peat for fuel in the neighbourhood of the villages exposes this clay subsoil. The reclamation of such "skinned" land for tillage is possible, but can be achieved only by strenuous labour in breaking up the hard compact clay with the pickaxe, and removing the contained boulders. An experimental farm has been carried on, for some years, near Stornoway to show what can be done by drainage and cheap fertilisers to reclaim peat land for pasture, without removing the peat.

VILLAGE SITES

As has been said, almost all Hebridean villages are on, or near, the coast. The hinterland of bog, rough moor, and mountain, which occupies the interior is uncultivated and uninhabited. The usual cause which has determined the site of these island communities seems to have been a combination of a convenient landing-place from the sea, such

as a sandy or pebbly beach or a sheltered bay or inlet, with an adjacent stretch of ground capable of tillage. The moorland behind was available for pasturage of sheep and summer grazing of cattle; the bogland furnished peat for fuel, and the sea provided fish.

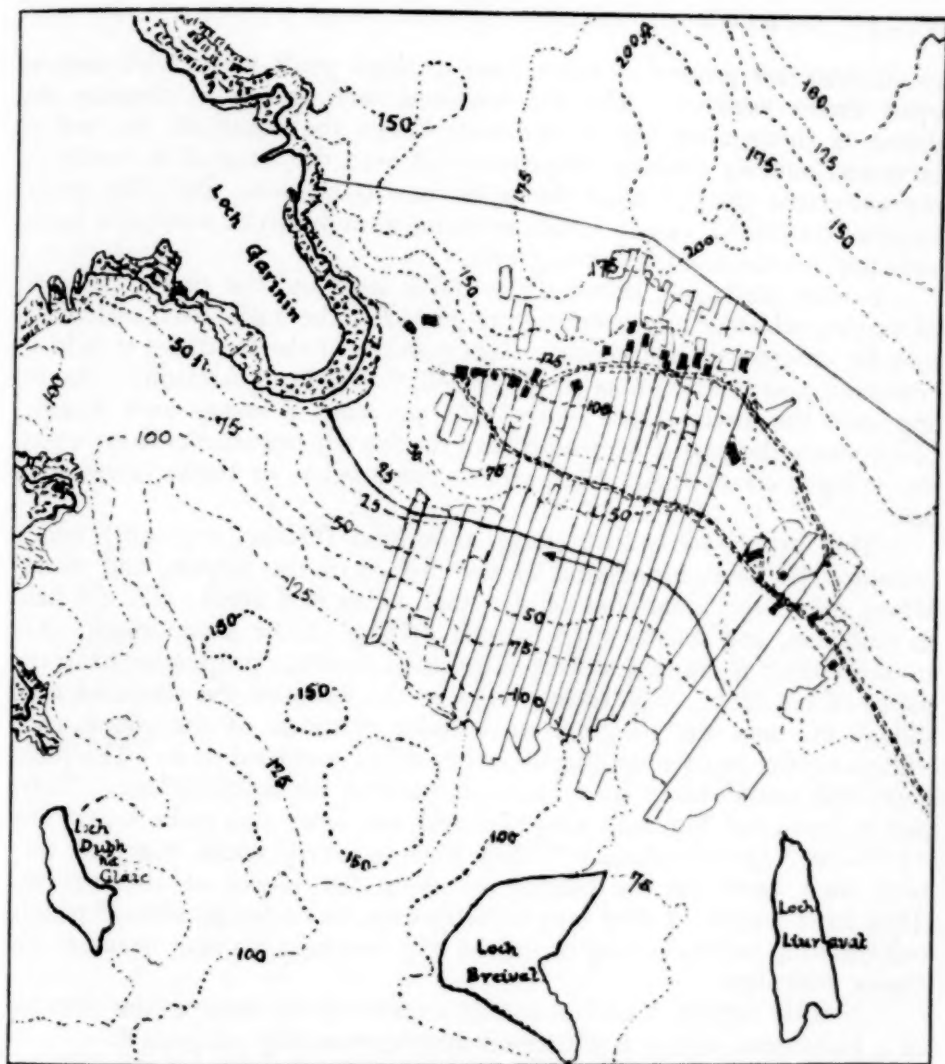
The peat nearest each village has been cut first and the peat-banks with the passage of time became farther removed from the village. Indeed, the comparative age of a settlement may almost be judged by the distance from the village of the peat-banks. So important is the fuel supply and so difficult in olden times was its transport that sometimes the people transferred their dwellings inland, following the shrinking peat and at the same time making use of the reclaimed land. There are instances where a village is two-fold, one, the original, portion remaining along the shore, and a part, of later date, standing a mile or so inland nearer the edge of the moor.

The crofts of the village usually consist of parallel strips at right angles to the highway. The houses stand each on the end of its own strip, and so form a row close together alongside the road. In the northern end of Lewis a string of such houses, belonging to several adjacent villages, forms a continuous double row for some two miles. Here the cultivation on one side of the road is on machair land; on the other on the "skinned" land reclaimed from the moor after removal of the peat.

THE VILLAGE LAND

The land belonging to a typical village may be considered as made up of several irregular zones. Some of the villages, as already explained, may possess a stretch of machair land next to the shore, formed by the gradual accumulation of sea-sand, blown inland. Such ground is light, well-drained, and easily worked, and it contains a large amount of lime in the form of finely ground shell material. If heavily manured with seaweed it is capable of yielding fair crops. When a village possesses a machair it is usual to allocate a portion to each crofter, by way of addition to the less favourable soil of his fixed holding. Such ground is specially suitable for raising a potato crop of good quality.

Inland from the machair land we come to the ordinary arable land of the croft. This is the "infield" (in Gaelic, dubh-thalamh = "black earth"). As a rule the soil is shallow, frequently rocky, apt to be sour, and hard to drain. To meet these difficulties the crofter's usual method is



VILLAGE OF GARININ, ISLAND OF LEWIS.

Scale, 6 in. = 1 mile. This village has a very restricted area of arable land, bounded by hills, and westward by steep sea cliffs that look out to the Atlantic. There is no machair land. The strip lay-out of the crofts is very marked. The houses stand at the head of their own strips, and near the cart-track that serves the village as a road. This track leads south-eastwards to a larger village about a mile away, which has a landing-slip for small craft a mile farther. The town of Stornoway, which is the steamer port for the Island of Lewis, is distant by road about 18 miles.

to cultivate his ground in strips, two to three yards wide, with narrow open drains between. The soil removed each spring in clearing the drains is thrown on top of the bed. Thus the depth of the soil is increased and its drainage improved. Where the ground is rocky or the cultivable patches small the work has to be done with the spade. In more favourable cases a small one-horse plough can be used, one being sufficient for the use of several crofts.

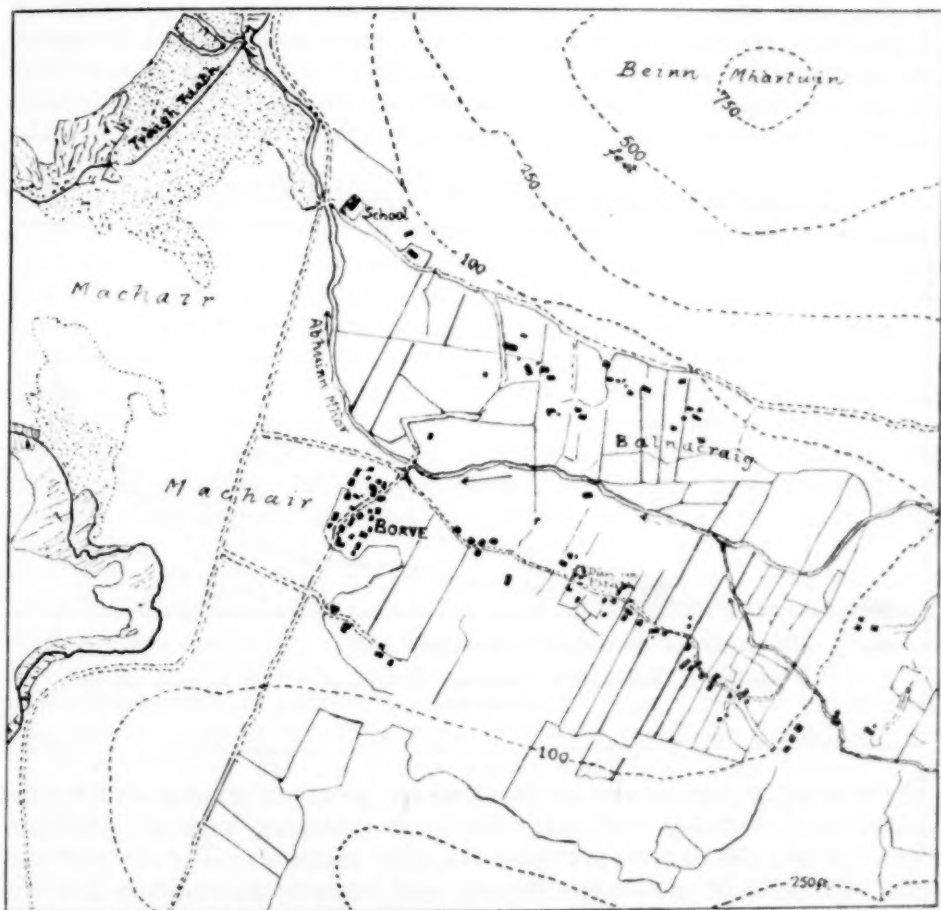
Farther landward, between the arable land and the moor, is a belt of varying width of improved pasture grazed by the milk-cows, and which may be cropped intermittently. This portion of the holdings is held in common, and is known as the "outfield" (Gaelic, gearraidh). As we approach the lower slopes of the hills we reach a boggy area (Gaelic, blàr), where the peat is deeper and can furnish the peat-banks from which the village cuts its fuel. Each crofter has a bank, or banks, allotted to him.

This brings us to the rough moorland (Gaelic, monadh) which occupies the great proportion of the surface of the islands, and everywhere forms the hinterland of the small cultivated areas. This is held in common, and mainly used for the grazing of the sheep stock. On it each crofter is entitled to keep a specified number, proportioned to the value of his croft. For some weeks in the summer the cattle of each village are sent out to graze on suitable portions of the moor, each village having its own sheilings (Gaelic, airigh) assigned to it. The milk-cows are accompanied by a band of maidens from the village. These live in small sod huts and tend and milk the cows and make butter and "crowdie" (a soft cheese). They form a merry social party as they herd their cattle on the hillside or along the banks of the streams. They have leisure, as they knit industriously, to exchange ideas throughout the long summer days, or, in the still evenings, to sing together old Gaelic melodies.

A fairly typical sea-to-mountain section of the land at the disposal of a Hebridean village is expressed diagrammatically on page 8.

THE CROFTS

Hebridean crofts are held on a special form of land tenure, which recognises the right of the crofter, as long as his fixed rent is paid, to the ground he tills individually and to a share in the common pasture. This right he can transmit to his heir. The present legal position is fixed by

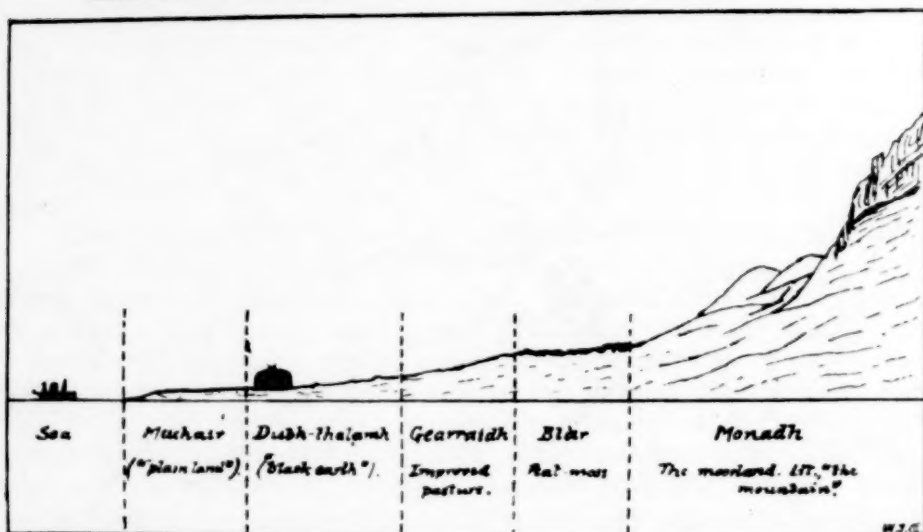


VILLAGE OF BORVE, ISLAND OF BARRA.

Scale 6 in. = 1 mile. This village has an extensive machair which stretches westward a considerable distance towards the sea beyond the limit of the map. The houses are in three groups to suit the distribution of the crofts, and along or near three roads. A stream flows through the village entering the sea across a beach of white shell-sand. The village is about three miles distant by road from the fishing port of Castlebay.

the LANDHOLDERS' ACTS, 1886-1911. The rent is paid to the proprietor of the land, who may be a private landowner, or the Department of Agriculture, but the amount of this is fixed, and may be revised, by a small statutory judicial body, the Land Court, which holds periodical sittings in the crofting districts and determines all claims, both of individual crofters, and of villages, where common rights are in question. The

Sea-to-mountain Section of the Village Lands in the Hebrides.



Department of Agriculture for Scotland has power to acquire land for the purpose of forming new settlements or enlarging existing holdings. Government funds are provided for this purpose. The Department may also help by grants for fencing and equipment, and may provide loans for erection of buildings, internal fencing and drainage, and for the acquirement of sheep stocks.

Not only have the crofters fixity of tenure and fair rent, but if a croft is given up the tenant may claim compensation for improvements, including the value of the dwelling-house which he or his forebears have built on it.

The extent of arable land available in the Islands is strictly limited, but the amount varies greatly from island to island. Out of 6,000 holdings

in the whole of the Long Island 5,000 are under fifteen acres (6 hectares). In Lewis or Harris a croft may have as little as four or five acres (2 hectares). In the more southerly isles the average is about twenty acres (8 hectares). It will be realised that holdings of the smaller size, far removed from markets, cannot be economically sufficient for the maintenance of a family. There has to be subsidiary employment of some kind to increase the family resources. In the history of the islands various forms of industry have come and gone; for example, at the end of the 18th century kelp-making flourished, but began to decay after the close of the Napoleonic wars, and is now extinct. Sea-fishing has always been an important occupation, but the recent slump in the industry through depletion of the fishing-grounds and the closing of Continental markets is at present having serious effects. To some extent in the last few years the great development of the home-weaving of tweeds is helping to make up for the loss of fishing employment. Such economic changes have had, in the past, a marked influence on the conditions of village life, on the growth or decrease of population, on rate of emigration, and on the social evolution of these little communities.

The crops grown on the croft are oats, barley or bere, and potatoes. In olden times the home-grown oats and barley formed the cereal food of the people. The grain was threshed with the flail, winnowed, parched in a simple form of kiln, and ground in the little water-mills that each village possessed on a neighbouring stream. These were of a type that may still be seen at work in some of the Scandinavian countries. In the Hebrides they have now been almost completely abandoned. One may still occasionally see bannocks of home-grown barley, but the oat-meal used is now imported from the mainland, just as wheaten flour has long been, since wheat cannot be grown in the Outer Isles. The oat and barley crop are used as food for the cows and horses. For human food the most important crop is the potato. The growth of this indispensable element in Hebridean diet was first introduced about the middle of the 18th century by some of the Highland landowners. Certain of the islanders, generally averse to innovations, at first offered vigorous opposition: "They can make us plant them but they cannot make us eat them!" But that attitude quickly passed. Now, with proper changes of seed varieties, and the help of spraying to prevent disease, the potato forms a prized and dependable part of the ordinary

diet. As a rule no roots other than potatoes are grown, and little is done in the sowing of grass-seeds.

Milk, and its products, form a valuable part of the island dietary. Every croft has a cow or two, and some young cattle are raised for export. The Uists take the lead in marketing these, as also in the breeding of young horses. The mildness of the climate simplifies the problem of wintering the stock. On the outrun the crofter keeps his score or more of sheep, some of these for export, the mutton of some for home consumption, and the wool to supply the looms and the domestic knitters. A shepherd is appointed in common by the village. Poultry and egg-production are receiving increased attention. Valuable help is given in the island by the Aberdeen College of Agriculture. They keep a resident agricultural organiser in the area to help the crofters to improve their methods, and a skilled instructress to advise the women on dairying and poultry management.

In dealing with the land, one must not forget that the sea is an equally important part of the crofter's patrimony. For his dietary ration, its fish provide fats and proteins in generous measure.

THE VILLAGE UNIT

The social unit of the Hebridean folk is definitely the village. No doubt in the past wider social groupings, as the sept and the clan, were recognised in a way that no longer persists. But the breakdown of the clan system which followed the political troubles of the Highlands in the 18th century has not wiped out the individuality of the little villages which form the natural and traditional communities of Island society.

The Hebrides at the dawn of history were inhabited by a Celtic people, probably mixed with older race elements. The culture—that is, the mode of life, social usages and beliefs, folk-lore, traditions, superstitions, language and song—was Celtic. But these people were raided from the 8th century, or earlier, by the Viking Norsemen, who gradually settled the islands and held them for some four centuries. The defeat of the Norse King Hakon at Largs in 1263 led to the abandonment of the Norse claim to the islands. No doubt many of the Norse settlers withdrew, but numbers remained. So we have the present population drawn from the original Celtic stock, from Norsemen who remained, and from later incoming Celts. The language of the people today is Gaelic; for more than nine-tenths of them it is the mother

tongue used habitually in the homes, although they have also a fluent knowledge of English acquired in the schools. Yet to this day two-thirds of the Hebridean place-names of inhabited sites are Norse. So are some of the personal names and certain terms connected with boats and the sea. The physical appearance also of a number of the islanders argues a mixture of Scandinavian blood.

In this region we do not find the isolated distribution of dwellings which is a mark of pioneer life, as illustrated by the earlier settlers in North America, or by the far-flung homesteads of Iceland or the little farms carved out of the pine forests of Finland. Instead of these isolated homesteads we find the families grouped in villages of varying sizes, depending on the extent of cultivable land available.

The village attitude is gregarious, but only of the family groups within the village, rather than of village with village. To this day villages quite near one another will differ in many economic and social details. Not only are the hill-grazings and the peat-banks delimited by villages, and these boundaries jealously conserved, but each village has its own way of doing things, its own attitudes, and its own tradition of usages. This shows in unexpected ways, even in these days when improvements of transport and other modern innovations tend to draw men together, and when the children of several villages may attend the same school, and their parents the same Church. Two villages, for instance, within sight of each other, and with seemingly the same conditions of soil and situation, will in the springtime differ by two or three weeks in the time of turning the ground and sowing the seed. There seem to be diverse village traditions of practice even for those who find work outside the island. The young men of one village have the ambition to become seamen or marine engineers, of another to find employment in the large cities, of another to go overseas. One village depends a good deal on weaving, another sends its men to the herring-fishing. The young women of one village take up nursing or domestic service "in the south", those of another leave their homes each summer to find employment with the herring-curers.

As would be expected the village has a keen interest in those matters that concern its own people. This does not end with the ordinary village routine of sowing and harvesting, the gathering of the sheep-flock off the hills for dipping or shearing, the weaning of the lambs, and the sending of the cattle to the sheilings or their return. The success

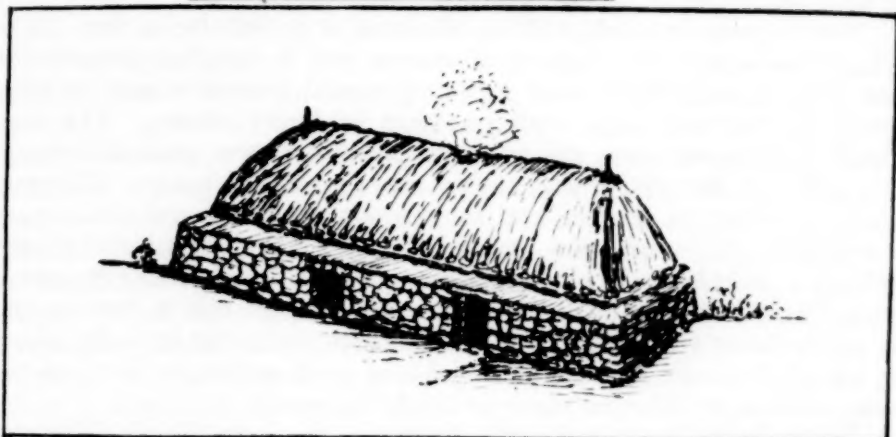
of individual villagers who have gone away and made a career elsewhere, those who have entered the professions or who are preparing for these by attendance at a secondary school or university—these also are matters of common village concern and credit. Those who have thus gone away do not break the village bond. One brother of a family may be crofter or fisherman at home, another University Professor or successful business man, but they do not lose touch. Often the man who has been abroad and has made a competency, when his time of retirement comes, yields to the "homing" instinct, builds a house in his native village within sight of the sea, and ends his days there among his kin. One fine feature of village life is the social helpfulness it offers to those who need it. Is there a crofter's widow who is struggling along to bring up her family, or is there a father who is laid aside by illness? Forthwith the neighbours gather to give a day's work and the house is thatched, or the peats cut, or other needful operation carried out on the croft. And this is done not with any fuss but just as a matter of course in common neighbourliness. Kindness, courtesy, and sympathy with those in trouble or bereavement, are universal. Island hospitality is proverbial. It is a virtue the absence of which would be keenly condemned by common sentiment.

The status of all the dwellers in the village is the same except in so far as gifts of personality give an individual influence among his fellows. The schoolmaster and the pastor or the priest may serve more than one village. They are persons whose help and advice are readily drawn upon and freely rendered in many material concerns quite outside their professional duties.

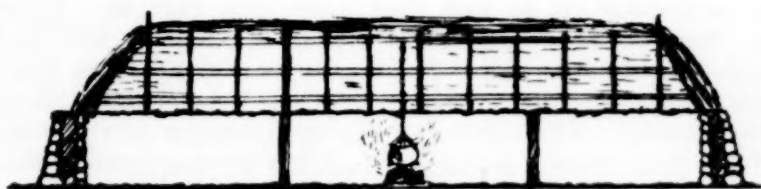
THE HEBRIDEAN "BLACK HOUSE"

In a Hebridean village the houses have been built by those who live in them or by their ancestors. One of the most striking changes in recent years has been the increase in the number of good two-storied dwellings with adequate lighting and ventilation. This movement has been encouraged and aided by the Scottish Department of Agriculture, which provides material at a cheap rate and, in suitable cases, supplies a loan, repayable over a number of years, to cover part of the cost. In most of the villages, however, a number of the houses are still survivors of a more primitive type of dwelling, the "black house". These may be found in different stages of survival. With every year they become fewer

The Hebridean "Blackhouse."



Section



Plan



or cease to serve as dwelling-places and instead do duty as byre or barn. The older type is of considerable social interest as being related to the climatic and economic conditions of the region.

Such a house is a long oblong, about 40 or 50 feet by 15 feet. It is built of undressed and unmortared stones, and is thatched with barley straw kept in position by stout ropes of twisted heather loaded near the bottom of the roof-slope with pendants of heavy stones. The wall is built double—an outer and an inner casing of stone, packed between with earth or clay, the whole a yard or more in thickness. The wall is low, some five or six feet, and as there are no gables and the corners are rounded, the winds find little hold. The thickness of the double wall and a slight batter on the outer face add to the stability of the structure. Timber being scarce, the ends of the rough rafters rest on the top of the inner wall, leaving outside this a considerable flat ledge along the top of the wall, but this is turfed and grass-grown to shed off the water. There are thus no eaves to catch the wind.

Internally the house is in three divisions—the byre (Gaelic, *bathach*), the living-room (*aig an teine*, literally, “at the fire”) and the inner room (*culaist*). The last is the sleeping chamber and along one side of it are the beds partitioned off so that they form little cubicles. From the *culaist* the living-room is separated by a wooden partition, and the latter from the byre by a stone wall. The floor of the living-room is of clay, that of the *culaist* of wood. The floor of the byre is sunk about two feet below ground level to allow of the accumulation of the litter and manure. As these houses are usually built on sloping ground the byre is at the downward end.

The peat fire burns on a slightly raised stone-paved hearth in the middle of the floor of the living-room. There is no chimney; the smoke finds its way out by a hole in the middle of the thatched roof. The cooking-pot hangs over the fire on a chain suspended from one of the rafters. A good deal of soot is deposited on the inner thatch and this saturation is the greater since the barley straw used for thatch, having been plucked and not cut from the ground, has the root-fibres intact. Seasonally the outer thatch is temporarily removed and the inner soot-saturated straw is stripped off and used as a top-dressing for the crop. The other thatch is replaced and fresh straw in the autumn is put on the outside. Light is admitted by a pane of glass let into the thatch or by a small window in the thickness of the wall. In the more primitive

houses the single outside door opens into a corner of the byre and a second door admits from this into the living-room. Where there is a barn (*sabhal*) it is parallel to the house and attached to the back of the outer wall from which it is entered by a door from the byre.

The furnishings of the house are simple: the *culaist* contains the beds, a table, chests for storing clothes and other belongings, a chair or two, a cupboard, and the meal-barrel or chest; the living-room has usually a dresser with crockery, several shelves on the wall, a settle and stools for sitting on, a small table, and the spinning-wheel. Water for domestic use has to be carried some distance from a well or spring. The full water-pails find a place beneath the dresser. The Gaelic term for the living-room, "at the fire", reminds us of the peculiar regard the Hebridean has for the peat fire in the home. The hearth is the centre, real and symbolic, of the family life. The fire is not allowed to go out at night. At bedtime it is smooored by covering two or three of the burning peats with the ash. These keep alive until they are uncovered again in the morning, when they kindle afresh into flame. There are fires alight in the Isles today that have been burning through a long lifetime.

THE SEASONAL RHYTHM OF OCCUPATIONS

With the coming of spring, which is late in the Islands, the ground has to be prepared for the crops. The drains between the beds are cleaned, the soil manured and turned with spade or plough, the grain sown, and the potatoes planted. This is finished about the end of April. Some weeks after, when the shoots have appeared, the clods are broken up with the *plocan* (a block of wood with a handle), and cleaning is done between the drills. In July will come a second cleaning and earthing-up. Meantime in the early summer the peat supply for next winter has to be cut, dried, creeled out from the peat-banks, and stacked temporarily, at the roadside for carting home when convenient. The lambing has to be attended to. The "white" fishing, of cod, ling, and eels, and the catching of lobsters, call the men to the boats, and by the middle of May the herring fishing has begun, for the shoals come early into Hebridean waters. Some of the young women go off to the fishing-ports to help with the gutting. The curing, packing, and kippering, which are an accompaniment of the operations of the herring fleet, at this season make the two Island fishing ports of Stornoway and Castlebay scenes of great activity.

For shearing and dipping, the sheep have to be gathered in to a "fank" (fold) from the hills by the village shepherd, aided by the village lads and the dogs—a strenuous task. The gathering at the fank is a village occasion, and for the day the children are free from school. At the fank each owner's sheep are singled out. The shepherd knows the animals belonging to each individual crofter by their ear-marks. In the absence of many of the men at the fishing the housewives (on whom at this season much of the work of the croft falls) are present in force, in picturesque white mitches, to look after the family stock and to help generally.

As the crops come up on the crofts the cattle have to be taken to the sheilings. This also is a village event of common interest. In some cases they have to be driven considerable distances inland. One large island off the west coast of Lewis has not sheilings within its own boundaries but on the main island on the other side of a broad arm of the sea. The swimming of the herd across the inlet at the proper season is, for a stranger, a novel and picturesque scene.

With the autumn the potatoes have to be lifted, the barley plucked, and the oats mown. The peats have to be brought in from the moor, for no crofter's home would be prepared to meet the winter without a properly built satellite peat-stack beside the house, containing enough fuel to keep the fire going till next autumn. It is a sign of our moving times that, in some of the villages, small motor lorries now bring in the peats easily and quickly, where before it was done slowly and piecemeal by the pony and small cart, or even in rare cases laboriously by the creel. One lorry can do the work for a number of families.

The introduction, some years ago, of the steam drifter instead of the old brown-sailed fishing boat made possible the development of a winter herring fishing, which for some years was of considerable importance, but the recent slump, through the partial closing of the Continental market, has dealt this a blow.

At intervals of slack periods throughout the year the home looms are kept busy weaving tweeds, more now for export sale than for home wear. Carding, dyeing, and spinning, in the old days were all done by hand, but now mills for carding and spinning have been set up in the Islands to meet the conditions of the recognised trade-mark for the tweeds. Another condition is that the cloth must be home-woven.

With the winter comes the time of comparative leisure—the season of short days, long evenings, fireside crafts, and hospitable interchanges.

The hand-spinning used to be one of the most important of the home-crafts but, though the looms are busier than ever, mill-spun yarn has largely replaced the product of the spinning-wheel. Associated with the weaving of the tweed was the "waulking", or "fulling" (ireadh) of the web when completed. In this neighbours helped one another. A team of young women gathered in the home of the weaver of the web and did the work rhythmically, their hands beating and moving the tweed on the board to the timing of song and chorus. Nor did the song end when its traditional words were exhausted. In the interval, while the chorus was being sung, the leader, or even the girls in turn, would improvise in humorous fashion with topical allusions to passing events or to the persons present. Many striking old melodies have been preserved in this way, where team work, in such operations as waulking and rowing, made rhythmic movement a necessity.

The leisure time of the seasons affords other social occasions in the villages. There are, for example, betrothals (reitach), for this ceremony still survives in the islands. Weddings also furnish another opportunity for village festivities. One of the most interesting of the old social customs, which still to some extent survives, is the "ceilidh".

A CEILIDH

It is winter and a day of grey skies. On the strand of the bay on which the village stands pound the long rollers of the Atlantic driven by a south-west gale. Against the cliffs that bound the bay on both sides the waves dash and break in a smother of spray which sends a froth of spume flying far inland. The long cultivation strips of black earth lie black and sodden against the grey hillside. The little row of houses tones so closely with the winter aspect of the moor that one hardly realises their existence on the landscape. One, rather more conspicuous than its neighbours, is the village shop which also serves as post office. During the day the men who are not away at the winter fishing have been at the loom or finding slight occupations outside. The women have attended to the cows and their domestic tasks. The children of five to fourteen years have been at school and as this may serve several villages some of them may have had to walk a mile or two to attend. Now night falls, and all the villagers are within doors around the fire. We enter one of the "blackhouses" from which comes a cheerful chatter of tongues and merriment. This is the home of a family

well-known in the village for its genial hospitality and its kindly tolerance of old and young. In the middle of the floor burns the great peat-fire, with glowing centre and gauzy flames, a cosy and cheering sight for those who have come in out of a night of storm. The goodman of the house is twisting ropes of heather for next season's thatching, the good-wife is busy with her spinning-wheel, while the young women sew, or their knitting needles click as merrily as their tongues. The men, less industrious, smoke companionably. The social circle has the fire for its centre. All the talk is in the Gaelic, a tongue apt alike for swift repartee and kindly sentiment. Local news passes, village affairs are discussed, riddles propounded, old stories of clan feuds or ancient folklore are retold. Vivid story-telling and the expressive phrase are highly appreciated. Songs are sung and their choruses heartily joined in by the company. The ancient heritage of folk-music is prized and used. Nor is the race of bards yet extinct and one of those present may be able to treat the party to his latest composition.

In the conversation interest is not limited to the matters of township or parish. Affairs of church and state are discussed and shrewd criticism offered on local, national and international concerns. Newspapers and radio have contributed their quota in supplying material. The talk ranges widely, and is illuminated by personal reminiscences and experiences. Some of those present have been away at the fishings, have worked in the cities of the south, or have been overseas. All of them have relatives scattered about the world. Such a Hebridean group may be more cosmopolitan in its experience and outlook than a city gathering.

From time to time the fire is replenished, tea is infused and drunk and light refreshments eaten; and the evening passes merrily as each happily contributes a share to the enjoyment. It is late before the visitors say "Good-night" and set out into the darkness for their own homes. Such a gathering, informal and friendly, with its simple forms of entertainment, is the *ceilidh*, an ancient institution of the village life, but now giving place to other and newer—perhaps less cultural—forms of amusement.

SOCIAL CHANGES AND OUTSIDE RELATIONS

The village of a hundred years ago was based on a self-contained and self-sufficing economy. It built its own houses, raised its own

grain and potatoes, bred its own stock, used its own milk, butter and eggs, produced its own wool, wove its own cloth, and cut its own peat. The crofter filled in his own person many functions: he was shepherd, fisherman, agriculturist (with the help of his wife), and general handyman. The only specialised workmen in the village were likely to be the weaver, the tailor, and the smith (who was also the surgeon). Thus the common needs of shelter, warmth, food, and clothing, were all met from within.

But modern progress dictated changes. Not only were new needs and wants created, but much of the former effort at home provision was abandoned. Common regulations as to dates and times of grazing, number of stock to be kept, and the like, had been made by the landlord, or self-imposed by the village for the common good. Then came a time of land troubles and agitation, and this stricter discipline fell into disuse, much to the detriment of the community. Gradually suitable control of these matters has been re-established, but it is now worked through statutory village Grazing Committees, the Department of Agriculture, and, as final legal authority, the Land Court. This revival of the old orderly way of having village affairs conducted is all to the good.

Ideas, too, of what is required for social amenity have greatly widened, and the wish for a higher standard of living has quickened. For the provision of various public services, now regarded as essential, the village entity, even the parish area, was too small. The more efficient provision of schools required assistance, with a wider rating area and Government financial help; secondary schools had to be provided at convenient centres to serve the needs of wider districts. Public help, too, had to be found so that children of proved ability, whose parents had small means, might be enabled to continue their studies at the Universities, so that, in John Knox's phrase, "the commonwealth may have some comfort by them".

Similarly for public health and sanitary arrangements, increased nursing, medical and surgical services, sanatorium and hospital treatment, provision for the poor, the making and maintenance of roads, the regulation of transport and fishing, the securing of an adequate steamer connection with the mainland, a suitable police system—for all such larger affairs District or County administration was required, encouraged and backed up by State grants and by the action of various Government

bodies—the Departments of Education, of Agriculture, of Public Health, the Fishery Board, the Transport Board, and other national authorities. Part of the problem of such extensions is to secure that local village and district interest and effort are maintained and developed, through representation on the public bodies, and by voluntary help in matters of public welfare.

The postal services for letters and parcels, and telegraphic and telephonic communication are, of course, in Government hands, and the daily house to house delivery of letters in such remote villages is a marvel of efficiency. The postal subsidy to the steamship companies also enables a certain amount of public control to be exercised over the steamer services. Nothing has been more striking than the development of road transport since the War. In a region without railways this is a matter of prime importance. Buses, run by private enterprise but under control of the Transport Board as to fares and times, now link up the villages with one another and with the ports of steamer call, and make the movement of the people easy in a way previously undreamed of. For the administration of law, local Sheriff Courts are held at Stornoway and Lochmaddy. Serious cases of crime (extremely rare in the islands) and civil suits of importance go to the Court of Session in Edinburgh.

The old village sports had fallen into disuse, but the young people of today are filling the blank with football, net ball, badminton, and general athletics. To these the competition between village teams adds a fillip. The social instinct of the women is, in recent years, finding an outlet through island branches of the Women's Rural Institutes.

THE HEBRIDEAN FOLK

It will be realised from what has been said of the economic situation in the Isles that the population is greater than the local resources can sustain, even when eked out by Old Age and other pensions. One result is that large numbers of the young people of both sexes go to the mainland or emigrate beyond the seas. A marked movement of emigration of the young men followed on the close of the Great War. The population of the Isles—all the Isles—is decreasing, and with some of them this reduction set in nearly a century ago. Not the least valuable of the island contributions to the sum of human betterment is the steady stream of young men and women who leave their homes and go forth to take a worthy share in the work of a wider world—in our cities, in

our Commonwealth, and in foreign lands beyond the seas. Hardly a family but has one or more of its sons and daughters at the world's end. Nor are those who remain behind to be judged as backward because of the remoteness of their homes from city centres. Neither their ideas nor their outlook are in any way behind the times. As a people, not only are the isles folk courteous in their manners, kindly and hospitable in disposition, and tactful in their social intercourse, but one cannot fail to be struck by their mental alertness. The latter quality may be partly a result of the conditions of island life. A crofter has to order his economic life for himself. His management of his croft calls for initiative, sound judgment, and individual effort. The position is one to encourage independence and individuality in a way perhaps not called for to the same extent in an industrialised society. It carries with it, of course, the risks that are the eternal price of all personal liberty. The calling of a deep-sea fisherman, too, is one to develop character. It demands quick observation, clear judgment, and the prompt action on which the life of oneself and of others may at any moment depend.

Further, the life both of men and of women has not only its periods of strenuous labour but also, as has been shown, its times of leisure, such as give scope to the social qualities. Various seasonal activities, moreover, as already described, are still carried out in common—at the sheilings, in the waulking of the web of tweed, in the peat-cutting, in the dipping and shearing of the sheep, in the cutting and gathering of the sea-ware. Again, fishing, whether with lines or nets, is a social calling, which, in spite of its arduous character, has its intervals of leisure and of pleasant intercourse.

Nor is it to be forgotten that the small area of the crofts has one advantage, in that it enables the people to live near one another, not in far scattered single houses but in clachans or villages, each with a certain community life which the new village halls, now happily being established, are doing much to revive and strengthen.

It matters greatly also that the daily life, whether on sea or ashore, is lived close to nature. There is a bracing and changeable climate to face, with its boisterous winds and blustering rains. The wide spaces of sea, moor, and sky, are always present to give the spirit room. It is an educational asset of the greatest value that the young generation start life with this background of nature as their heritage. This may be part of the reason that in the Isles material gain is not yet allowed to dominate life.

*For further reference on the economic and social features of the
Outer Hebrides :—*

- A DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND by Sir Donald Monro (1549).
(Published 1774. Reprinted by Eneas Mackay, Stirling, 1934.)
- A DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND (c. 1695) by Martin Martin.
(Published 1703. Reprinted by E. Mackay, 1934.)
- STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND, edited by Sir John Sinclair (1797). COUNTIES
OF ROSS AND INVERNESS.
- AN ECONOMICAL HISTORY OF THE HEBRIDES by John Walker (1808).
- GENERAL VIEW OF THE AGRICULTURE OF THE HEBRIDES by James Macdonald.
(Report to the Board of Agriculture, 1811.)
- REPORT ON THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE HEBRIDES by Alexander Nicolson.
(H.M. Stationery Office, 1866.)
- REPORT INTO THE CONDITION OF THE CROFTERS AND COTTARS OF THE HIGHLANDS
AND ISLANDS BY THE NAPIER COMMISSION. (H.M. Stationery Office,
1884.)
- REPORT ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF LEWIS IN 1901. (H.M.
Stationery Office, 1902.)
- REPORT ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF UIST IN 1903. (H.M. Stationery
Office, 1904.)
- Scenes in Lewis.* Local sketches written by Hebridean school children. (THE
CELTIC REVIEW, January, 1909.)
- NORTH UIST by Erskine Beveridge (1911).
- HOME INDUSTRIES IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS by W. R. Scott. (H.M. Stationery
Office, 1914.)
- SCOTTISH MOTHERS AND CHILDREN by Dr. W. Leslie Mackenzie. Chapters XXXII
and XXXVII. (Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1917.)
- RESETTLEMENT IN THE HIGHLANDS. (The Highlands Local Employment Committee,
Inverness, 1919.)
- TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENT IN LEWIS AND HARRIS. Address by Lord
Leverhulme to the Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh (1919).
- The Human Geography of Lewis* by A. Stevens. (SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE,
March, 1925.)
- Reclamation and Cultivation of Peat Land in Lewis* by W. G. Ogg and A. Macleod
(SCOTTISH JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURE, April 1930, 1931 and 1932.)

Social Amenities in the Western Islands of Scotland by W. J. Gibson. (SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, January 1932.)

SOME ASPECTS OF LIFE IN A HIGHLAND VILLAGE A CENTURY AGO by Donald Maclean. Address to St. Andrew Society, Edinburgh (unpublished.)

Lewis by Dr. A. Geddes. (SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE, July and September 1936.)

The Hebrides: a Cultural Backwater by E. Cecil Curwen. (ANTIQUITY, September 1938.)

THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND. (Scottish Economic Committee Publication, 1938.)

Valuable additional up-to-date information can be obtained on Education, Health, Agriculture and Fisheries from the official ANNUAL REPORTS AND STATISTICAL TABLES issued by the Scottish Education Department, the School and County Medical Officers for Ross and Inverness, the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, and the Fishery Board for Scotland.

NOTE.—This article was written by the late W. J. Gibson sometime before World War II, and summarizes his knowledge of the Hebrides gained over a long period as head of the Nicholson Institute at Stornoway. It does not profess to take account of the most recent changes in occupation and social life.—*Editor*.